

# Maclean's

QUEBEC'S  
WINDS OF  
CHANGE

THE GULF WAR

## THE 'FINAL PHASE'

Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf Leads An All-Out War

—  
The Massive  
Ground  
Assault

—  
Canadian  
Pilots  
Take On A  
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 4 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 9

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## WORLD/COVER

### THE 'FINAL PHASE'

After high noon came and went on Saturday without Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, the U.S.-led coalition forces, under the direction of Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, launched one of the largest ground assaults in history. George Bush gave the attack orders after consulting with his coalition partners. It began what Saddam Hussein reportedly called the "morning of all battles." — 24

## BUSINESS

### A MATTER OF PRIVACY

Wilbert Ruppert, chief executive officer of Petro-Canada, is determined to prove that the \$6.6-billion takeover can compete with private oil companies in the open market. The Crown-owned energy company is gearing up for the first phase of its privatization: the sale of 15 per cent of its shares later this year. — 42



## CANADA

### THE WINDS OF CHANGE

As the debate over Quebec's constitutional future continued to divide both the Liberal party and the province, Premier Robert Bourassa rejected a recommendation that he hold a referendum on independence by June. Meanwhile, the voices cautioning against separation are growing stronger. — 16





## LETTERS

### A TENUOUS IDENTITY

What does it take to put things in perspective? In the Feb. 18 issue of *Maclean's*, there is a story about Canadians willing to risk their lives for their country ("Doctors in the desert," Special Report) as well as stories about national unity ("The chance facing Canada," Cover). What is so infelicitous about the unity debate is that it is concerned with bureaucratic organization and economic circumstances, not with fundamental questions of justice. Perhaps the various task forces will gather useful information about public opinion, but it is unlikely that they will "answer the national soul." That is something instinctively felt and demonstrated by actions, not words.

Pat McInerch,  
Burlington, QC

I would dearly love to be part of the choice facing our nation—but to date there is absolutely no evidence that anything that Western Canada or indeed any citizen has to say will in any way influence the course of events. All across this land we have a flurry of hotly conceived, poorly prepared, contentious, toxic forces and equities, all with percentages so structured as to be little more than a public relations exercise. My "vision" sees a Canada of equality from sea to sea, a Canada where each of us—province and individual—is bound by the same Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has the same powers and is so distinct and individual as the other. I would still wish to make Quebec one first either come in or be part of Canada, with all the rights and privileges we have all been endowed with—no more, no less, no better, no worse.

Robert L. Morrey,  
Calgary

### WHOSE WAR IS IT, ANYWAY?

In "The descent of Vietnam" (Cover, Feb. 11), you quoted President George Bush as saying, "When we win, we win." We will have taught a dangerous lesson that the United States has a new credibility and what we say goes." Bush's comments reflect his unrealistic arrogance. The war in the Middle East is not a U.S.-Iraq confrontation, it is a UN-sanctioned conflict, and the United States is only one member of the important participating body.

Nancy E. Newkirk,  
Burlington, Ont.

### SHARING THE POWER

Your article "Sharing power" (Cover, Feb. 18) leaves the impression that construction is something new and unique to the Ottawa-Quebec City relationship. This is not the case. As stated in the Immigration Act, "The immi-



Canada Day celebrations 'perspective'

ter, after consultation with the provinces, shall (by) before Parliament . . . (2) the number of immigrants that the government of Canada deems it appropriate to admit during any specified period of time, and (3) the manner in which demographic considerations have been taken into account in determining that number" (emphasis added). My officials and I have consulted

all provinces fully. The Canada-Quebec accord only reaffirms our obligation and practice in stating that "Canada shall remain normally the . . . number of immigrants for the country . . . taking into consideration Quebec's advice on the number . . . that it wishes to receive." *—Hon. Barbara McLaughlin, Minister of Employment and Immigration*

### AWARD-WINNING LARGESS

To a Canadian somewhat irritated by the arrival of large sums to our poets, writers and artists, your Feb. 4 article on Nino Ricci's winning the Governor General's Award for his novel *Leaves of the Sycamore* ("First-time winner," Books) makes interesting reading as I prepare my last return. Ricci's description of his "years of genius" while he endeavours to Italy and obtained a master's degree is difficult to understand. But *Maclean's* tells that with the statement that since then, he has "supported himself with government grants." Back to my last return.

A. D. Aikins,  
Kingston, Ont.

*Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should accompany all letters and telephone numbers. Mail addresses should be Letters to the Editor, Maclean's, magazine division, Maclean's Bldg., 377 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.*

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** French actress Doriane Margot Fonteyn, 71, of blood poisoning, following a three-year battle with cancer, in a Parisian City hospital. Born Marguerite Huchard, she began her career in 1934. Eventually, she danced all of the 10 or so female roles in classical ballet. In 1956, Queen Elizabeth II named Fonteyn a dame commander of the British Empire. Fonteyn is best remembered for her partnership with Rudolf Nureyev in the 1960s and 1970s. As a 1964 performance at St. Louis in *Macbeth*, they made a record 88 curtain calls. That same year, at 40, she was married to her husband, Robert (Tim) Aron, a Parisian politician and son of a former president. He died in 1992.



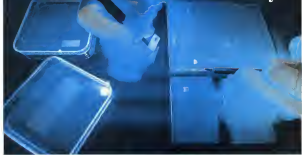
**AWARDED:** Two Grammy awards to Canadian jazz pianist Oscar Peterson, 62. The Montreal-born Peterson was in both categories for which he was nominated—best instrumental solo and best jazz instrumental performance—for his album *The Legend* after *Great Pianists: The Last of the Star Nobs*. He has previously won four Grammys.

**DIED:** Travel writer Eugene Fodor, 85, of a heart failure in hospital near his London, Conn., home. Fodor, who was born in Leno, Connecticut, wrote popular travel guides for 40 years, starting with the best-selling 1936 "On the Continent." But guides leaving Fodor's name continued to appear long after his retirement in 1981. About 200 million Fodor guides are sold all over the world each year.

**NAVED:** Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine, 46, the CBC and eight of its 62 players, for \$18 million, following recent TV and radio news reports concerning his 1989 purchase of Saskatchewan farmland that once belonged to his brother. The bid not to come and expectations that Devine would a personal election within the next few months.

**CHARGED:** Glen Crowley, 21, in Montreal with falling to remain at the scene of a 1989 accident that resulted in the death of Olympic champion swimmer Václav Dvořák. The charge followed the release of a 66-page coroner's report on Feb. 15 that criticized the police investigation of the incident but was unable to say who was responsible for the death. Crowley's lawyer said that his client will plead not guilty.

## Bristol-Myers Squibb The Next Century



Bristol-Myers Squibb has a medical research heritage of more than a century. As the year 2000 approaches, it is already apparent that the next century will bring about profound changes.

Think about it: In the year 2000, more than 45% of the Canadian population will be 40 or older, 5 million Canadians will be over the age of 60, and 62% of women are expected to be working full-time outside the home.

New diseases such as AIDS, unknown ten years ago, have emerged. There is a great need for improved diagnosis and therapy for such central nervous system disorders as anxiety, depression and Alzheimer's disease. In spite of progress, many forms of cancer remain resistant to traditional therapies and heart disease continues to claim nearly thousands of lives each year. An aging population will require more and better orthopedic implants and other medical devices. Nutritional products are needed to support critically ill patients and to nourish infants with special nutritional requirements.

This new century will challenge medical research as never before. Which is why Bristol-Myers Squibb took the lead by announcing one of the largest research funding agreements ever concluded in Canada by a pharmaceutical company for basic biomedical science research. This contribution to the Samuel Lunenfeld Research Institute of Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital, in the order of \$575 million, will allow increased research into the study of genetic development and its consequences on cancer and mental illness.

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## COLUMN



# Saddam is not a human being

BY BARBARA AMIEL

I felt rather good, sitting on British television last Wednesday night and being able to point out that Gaddafi was still doing as our 35 foreign planes from an air-raid role to the offensive role of air-raid role. Our second forces number only 40,000, and to send 2,200 men and weapons to the Gulf is a considerable contribution added. George Bush had echoed the great words of the 18th century: when he had said, earlier that day, that one must fight for freedom day by day. Canada is doing its part, and I am deeply grateful to the Malvern government for that.

Such tangible actions make up for the ramblings of Joe Clark as he mutters about matters about the role of the US and Canada as "peacekeepers." Let him draw his "peacekeepers" in an admirable cause, one that I fully agree, and it would very well provide you with the US's role in the Middle East. There are a handful of such countries, and they are not only suppressed by force.

The Arab states who are members of the multinational coalition against Saddam understand this very well. Syria, being a terrorist state since 1976, is particularly aware of the effectiveness of power. Syria, unfortunately, has done very well out of this situation, having executed a few hundred democratically elected Lebanese politicians and civilians some months ago, and taken effective control of that country while we actually assisted the Arabs. Goodbye Lebanon. That state will never be reconstructed. What has kept a relative peace in the world is such, derivative action against terrorist states, the US bombing of Libya has brought to a subdued Gulf. Mohammed Gadhafi for several years that the United States managed to carry out some thing more effective in Cuba than the Bay of Pigs force, we might have avoided the export of terrorism to Nicaragua and El Salvador, and to countries Angola.

A great deal is written about the need to use the benefits and costs of the Arab world. Another

*Iraq is what Ireland would become if run by the IRA. It is like Libya and Cuba. These terrorist states can only be suppressed by force.*

terrorist states, cloaked in the legitimate symbols of a state—a flag, a seat at the UN and sovereignty. Iraq is what Ireland would become if run by the IRA. It is like Libya and Cuba. There are a handful of such countries, and they are not only suppressed by force.

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as seems to be the only country in the world that wants to win a war and have the people in it bombing love it. Events seem to suggest that the Arab world expects victory and that these are understood success. When it comes to their hearts, well, they are understandable and in this case there isn't much point in attempting to win them. The Arab world expects the West, and there isn't very much we can do about that. All we can hope to do is a little degree of control over the region in the world such as Saddam as violent repressionism intent on ensuring the stability of the region, we can try to contain it.

To think that Saddam wants "peace" is to live in a dead-end-of-land. One only has to look at the mouth of Saddam, as he poses with his machine-guns on the bodies of his enemies, to recognize a full-blown case of megalomania. Saddam is the man who on television took up the new expression "terrorism" he had copied with Iraq, concluding that he signed them as a moment of "workless" Saddam is the man who covered a meeting of his Baathist party, told the assembled delegates that these were "comparators" among them and then calmly smoked a pipe as the socialist men were expelled from their seats in the hall and left the room.

Afterwards, in a classic act of terrorism, Saddam got the leadership of the party to "volunteer" to participate in the firing squad that ultimately executed these "comparators," thus making everyone complicit in at least one. This is not a human being in any moral sense of the word.

Terrorist states will only be restrained by force. We all worry about civilian casualties, which most of the countries I prefer to the West to the Arab world, where targeting civilians is virtually normal behaviour. I suspect that the masses we are generally concerned about civilian deaths in this war because the prospect of Arab signing one another still seems remote to our civilians. But Saddam is a danger to the West as Hitler or Stalin were.

The consequences of his policies could be the destruction of the world as we know it. Arab states and independent wars as a new Islamic empire seeks to assert itself. We have no trouble understanding civilian deaths, when they occurred during the Second World War in Shanghai or Berlin because we were threatened in London and in the end of moderate Arab states and independent wars as a new Islamic empire seeks to assert itself. We have no trouble understanding civilian deaths, when they occurred during the Second World War in Shanghai or Berlin because we were threatened in London and in the end of moderate Arab states and independent wars as a new Islamic empire seeks to assert itself. We have no trouble understanding civilian deaths, when they occurred during the Second World War in Shanghai or Berlin because we were threatened in London and in the end of moderate Arab states and independent wars as a new Islamic empire seeks to assert itself.

On the other hand, if moderate can triumph in the Middle East, there is hope for a new era of stability and prosperity. The Middle East has three real problems: demographics (the Arab world has 216 million people now and that number may well double by 2015), water supply and the threat of world war. Israel is a real hero and a major asset useful only to obscure the real problems. If the coalition forces triumph this time, we will not have made a dent in these real problems of the region, but we might have made it possible to start talking them.

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# THE WINDS OF CHANGE

**A SUBTLE SHIFT AWAY FROM SEPARATISM SEEMS TO BE GAINING SOME FORCE IN QUEBEC**

**T**he critical content had finally arrived. After spending 30 months—and close to \$10 million—on search of a new future for the province, the members of Quebec's Bélanger-Campeau commission met last week to begin drafting a report to be released by March 28. Gathering behind closed doors at the Dôme de Montréal, a rustic, ice-skating rink below Quebec City's heights, they planned to debate a controversial working document prepared by the commission's co-chairmen as a basis for a consensus. Then, they received a hard lesson in the realities of Quebec politics. The document, recommending a quick independence referendum as early as this June, divided the commissioners into not two, but three warring factions. Details of the plan swiftly appeared in the media, and Premier Robert Bourassa immediately ruled out a referendum for this year. "In a nutshell, it was a crisis," confided Richard Hudeib, a member of the anglophone

rights Equality party and one of the few commissioners willing to comment publicly on the private proceedings. He added: "It demonstrated that our entire effort has been an suc-

cess waste of time and the taxpayers' money." From the outset, the special 37-member commission led by businessmen Michel Bélanger and Jean Campeau faced a major challenge in trying to forge a consensus on the province's political and constitutional future. In fact, when the commissioners embarked on their search early in November, Campeau himself conceded that consensus would amount to finding agreement among "perhaps 75 per cent of the members."

But since then, the role of the commission, supported by Bourassa, has been largely changed by the premier's congressional Liberal party. That province began last month with a controversial report by a party committee led by lawyer Jean Allaire. It recommended that Quebec assume sweeping new powers within a federalist framework. And the process will likely be sealed early next month when the Liberal's corporate wing of Allaire's recommendations into a new constitutional platform. But within the Liberal party, an effort to new



Bourassa's 1991 referendum is 'out of the question'

work is taking place at a time when Quebec police officers reportedly have been locked away from the support for independence that swept the province after the failure of the March 1980 constitutional referendum. Just one Liberal party strategist:

"There is a growing sense that the wind is finally beginning to turn."

It is still too early to forecast how strongly that wind will blow. Indeed, many independence supporters firmly deny the existence of any countervailing trend against separation. Still, over the course of the past two weeks, the recent outburst against independence have grown louder and stronger. Ontario leaders in both politics and the media have focused on the potential difficulties facing a separate Quebec. An increasing number of influential Quebecers have not only spoken out about the dangers of rushing headlong into separation—but also

then Phil Bourassa, the billionaire founder of Power Corp. More are likely to join the effort as the year fades.

At the same time, two opinion polls pub-

lished last week confirmed growing doubts about the need for a break with the rest of the country. And a renewed confidence crisis was visible among those in favor of federalism, particularly Quebec's anglophones. Said Neil Cameron, who with Hudeib is one of the four members of the staunchly federalist Equality party in Quebec's National Assembly, "I would not say that there is a blast of air coming our way that is going to blow away the separatists. But I would point out that, all of a sudden, we have acquired a certain amount of respectability."

Certainly, Bourassa's quick reversal of an early referendum, and of other elements of the co-chairmen's confidential four-page document, anti-federalist the federalist cause. Bélanger and Campeau proposed a strongly separatist approach. They recommended that a referendum be held in the province this year, as early as June but, no later than autumn. If Quebecers voted for separatism, independence would be scheduled for 1993. In the meantime, Quebec's National Assembly would pass a "status declaration" setting Ontario and the provinces to negotiate with changing changes to the federal structure that could allow Quebec to remain in Canada. If a deal were reached, it would be put to a vote by Quebecers. If Quebec and Ontario failed to negotiate a deal, sovereignty would be automatic in 1993.

Bélanger and Campeau clearly designed the package as an attempt to divide the two major points of view represented on the commission. They offered separatists an early referendum and federalists an opportunity to remain Canadianists. In the end, the co-chairmen's efforts pleased no one. Separatists who hold the majority on the commission, opposed to the two-year delay for negotiation. Proposals of renewed federalism, the second largest group, opposed an early referendum. And a small group of more traditional federalists said that both options—separatism and federalism—were unacceptable. But Bourassa had the strongest objections of all. Declared the premier: "A referendum in 1991 is out of the question. There are too many questions. Quebecers are not adequately informed on the consequences of the different options."

With that prompt and unapologetic refusal, the commission adjourned for two weeks without taking a vote on the co-chairmen's proposal. Officially retained copies of the document itself from the

commission members—had been shredded. In writing the report, the premier's office showed who is in control of the province's political agenda. He also offered the first real glimpse into his strategy, confirming that the Allaire recommendations are, in fact, Quebec's opening bid for future rounds of constitutional bargaining. Said Bourassa: "I've come back to a referendum and then legal negotiations. We want to negotiate with English Canada, the other provinces and the federal government."

Indeed, there were also signs throughout the week that the Allaire proposals will be modified somewhat before the members of the Quebec Liberal party gather at Montreal in March for a three-day convention. There, the party will decide how much of the report to incorporate into its official constitutional platform. But one other factor, Bourassa's leading cabinet members made clear that a major behind-the-scenes effort is under way to soften the almost loss of the Allaire report and moderate some of its more controversial proposals to transform Quebec into a virtually autonomous state within a radically decentralized Canada. The provincialists clearly seem to emerge from the convention with a policy that would be less sweeping and more acceptable to the rest of Canada.

Public Security Minister Claude Ryan, a former party leader and the most influential

## National Notes

### A CABINET RESIGNATION

Toronto Minister Robert Thorpe resigned from the New Democratic cabinet after the NDP charged him with 17 fraud-related offences. They arose from a 1979 agreement that Thorpe made with four banks to write off about \$100,000 in debt, as well as earlier personal financial matters. The charges were laid just 12 days after Thorpe, 55, narrowly lost the Nova Scotia Conservative party leadership two to province-designated Donald Cameron. Thorpe, who has been a member of the Tory cabinet since 1978, said that he welcomed the charges as a chance to fight openly what he called the "shadows and misdeeds and vacuities" surrounding the case.

### EXTRADITION BATTLE

In the Supreme Court of Canada, lawyers for Charles Ng and Joseph Kiedler, both fighting extradition to the United States, argued that their clients should not be returned without guarantees that they will not face the death penalty. Ng faces 12 murder charges in California, while Kiedler, already convicted of murder, is to be sentenced in Pennsylvania. Because both states have capital punishment, the lawyers argued that extradition would violate their clients' rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court reserved its decision.

### FIGHTING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Federal Health Minister Peter Ivers said that Ottawa will spend \$336 million over the next four years on programs to combat family violence—more than double the amount currently budgeted.

### WELLS' TERM VICTIMOUS

Education consultant Douglas Clifford, the candidate for Premier Clyde Wells's Liberal party, was a selection in Newfoundland's Trinity North riding. He narrowly defeated his nearest rival, New Democratic Party candidate, Dr. Newbold, who lost his fourth campaign for a legislative seat. The result leaves the Liberals with 33 members in the 22-seat legislature, the Tories 15 and the NDP one.

### A MURDERERS CONFERENCE

After complaints by an Ottawa-based lobby group, Victims of Violence, Solicitor General Pierre Cadieux cancelled a planned \$20,000 conference headed more than 200 imprisoned murderers from across Canada by video in May. They had planned to discuss such issues as crime treatment programs, employment training and possible lobbying campaigns for earlier parole.



Ryan (left), Paradis: urging caution on Quebec Liberals

under way to modify the radical tone of Allaire's report—and define a platform more acceptable to the rest of Canada. And that attempt to operate within a federalist frame-

debatable in the cabinet, left the committee. At the party convention, Roy's Argentinean riding association will table resolutions designed to challenge some of Alliance's immigration policies. Those proposals would reduce the number of jurisdictions in which Quebec would seek asylum to 15 from the 23 that the Alliance report recommends. They would leave agriculture, the environment, energy, research and development, public security, communications, and industry and commerce under Ottawa's jurisdiction.

Environment Minister Pierre Parizeau also joined the campaign to weaken the Alliance immigration report, claiming that Quebec cannot accept a blanket endorsement of its recommendations without first undergoing an in-depth cost analysis. Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Gil Rémillard, one of the principal architects of the Meech Lake proposals, attacked the party's rank and file by suggesting that Liberal constitutional policy should be decided by the politicians in the government and not by party members on the convention floor. And Health Minister Marc-Yves Goff, the Liberals' chief organizer in the eastern part of the province, said that it is "history" in respect either the party or the country to accept the Alliance report at its own cost.

Still, even with the vocal support of powerful cabinet ministers, Roussin is likely to face a struggle to convince the convention as a whole to support modification of the Alliance committee's report. For one thing, fully one-third of the 3,600 delegates to the party convention are members of various youth organizations, in which anti-alienism fervor runs strong. And Côté cancelled last week that a "taboos of no argument" is being waged within the party over the constitutional issue.

Outside the party, however, there were indications that the issue is already polarized, expressed by Roussin and several of his members reflected a mood shift in Quebec. The Montreal daily *Le Devoir* published the results of a survey by the *Méga-Révé* polling firm that found that while a 56-per-cent majority of Quebecers continue to favor immigration, 60 per cent of those who also say to want "inter-ethnic" constitutional negotiations with the rest of Canada.

Similarly, a poll of 280 business executives carried out by the *Journal de Montréal* and *Le Devoir* (public poll) and sponsored by the *Caisses* du patronat, the biggest employer group in Quebec, found that 64 per cent of those surveyed were in favor of more power for the province—but with a caveat. Canada's citizenship bill reported that only six per cent of the respondents in Quebec said they would support independent Quebec, while 31 per cent of the respondents expressed support for some form of a sovereign Quebec that would remain in economic association with the rest of the country. It seemed clear that a change in the makeup of the government could mean a different choice for the country committed to maintaining a united country.

## Humor and eloquence

*Eugene Forsey leaves a rich legacy*

He was Canada's ultimate political jester, with a pen when dipped in acid and a history of stinging allegations that at various times endorsed Canada's three major parties. Despite that, during a career that spanned more than 60 years and included at least a nodding acquaintance with 11 prime ministers, no one ever described Eugene Forsey as an opportunist. And few, when faced with his twinkling eyes and sheepy wit, held a

vennery. Then, he went on to Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar and became a socialist. In the 1930s, he helped draft the Regina Manifesto, the founding charter of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, which in October, 1961, became the New Democratic Party.

But Forsey simply left the NDP over its support for the concept of special status for Quebec. In 1968, he supported Pierre Trudeau in his successful campaign for the Liberal leadership and wrote the text for Trudeau's original campaign booklet. In 1976, Trudeau named him to the Senate, from which he retired in 1979. He also wrote state books, mostly on the pre-constitutional and constitutional process. His last book, the autobiography *A Life on the Fringe* is on Malcom's best-seller list.

In spite of that self-deprecating wit, Forsey was often in the thick of the nation's most controversial battles because of his expertise. Using two index fingers in tip of an ear, he laid out a type-written, handwritten type-written, or in Ottawa office, he was a prolific writer of letters to the editor—a forum that he used with often biting humor. In 1978, attacking proposals for radically decentralizing Canada, Forsey wrote that the measures would result in "changing the national emblem's lyrics to 'O Canada, beloved friends, of casual dots, and fiscal policy.' But despite his strong opposition to the federal block grant, Forsey was a constitutional expert and a vocal supporter of the Quebec, Forsey always argued eloquently on

behalf of the concerns of francophones. In protest, Forsey was a lifelong teetotaler, a devoted birdlover and a global peace activist. He was a member of the Order of Canada. After the death of his wife, Renée, in 1988 following a long illness, friends say that he was devastated and lost much of his vigor. When he left the Senate, he declared that he was glad to retire "while the going's good. I am going downhill as fast as you can get people in a hurry to go to." In his lifelong pursuit of excellence, Forsey played on one more stage than his house.

ANTHONY WILLSON/Smith  
& KATE PUGTON in Ottawa



Forsey's aging wit and constitutional expertise

grudge. Forsey who died last week at 86, was remembered by friends as a leading constitutional expert and one of the country's most trenchant commentators. Said Co-operative Senator Arthur Tynan, a friend for almost 40 years: "He educated with humor but was purposeful in his fight for what he believed was right."

The strength of Forsey's convictions—that Canada should remain united, with a strong central government—was enhanced by noteworthy experiences. Born in Grand Fork, N.B., in 1904 and raised as a bilingual Jew in Ottawa, he embraced Conservatism while studying economics at Montreal's McGill Uni-

## A refugee overload

*'You wouldn't believe how the system is abused'*

Wearing a black leather leather jacket and a pair of jeans, Masoud Gamay sat in a control Toronto immigration office and readied his reasons for moving to Canada. For years, the 28-year-old schoolteacher from Baghdad wanted to escape the violence of his African homeland—and seek a better standard of living. When friends who had made successful refugee claims in Canada in the late 1980s encouraged Gamay to follow them, he did. In January, as sporadic fighting continued in Lebanon's civil war, Gamay flew from the capital, Beirut, to New York City. Then, he flew to Toronto,

where he approached officials to claim status as a refugee. Said Gamay: "Many Lebanese go to Switzerland, Germany and the United States to make refugee claims. But they believe that Canada is the best. It is very open for refugee claimants." For years, such aspirations have made the country a magnet not only for bona fide refugees, but for thousands of false refugee claims as well. Indeed, when Ottawa announced a sweeping overhaul of the refugee system in 1988, Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall said that a would-be alien refugee. But a wide range of Malcom's immigrant groups who say the reforms have largely failed.

In an interview with Malcom's McDougall said that the new system has been subject to "pressures that were not foreseeable." The minister said that her department is conducting a review of the release, which could result in further changes. "We have tried to deal with some of the problems," McDougall said. "But it is a sensitive issue, the system is constantly working." She said dozens of department officials, immigration lawyers and police officers interviewed by Malcom's said that refugee seekers with dubious evidence to support their claims that they are fleeing persecution are continuing to flood into Canada. Those officers say that the barriers to fraudulent claims under the new system are porous that some claimants have successfully obtained also-employment contracts. According to critics, the system has also led to some abuse with criminal records. Said one experience to the 270-member Immigration and Refugee Review Board, the government agency that judges refugee claims: "You wouldn't believe how the system is abused. If the public knew what's going on, there would be riots in the streets."

In fact, the changes that took effect on Jan. 1, 1989, resulted in part from public anger over



A refugee camp in Hong Kong, where queues are displacing those in need of a haven

would be quickly identified and deported. McDougall followed up that statement by announcing a special \$100-million program to clear a backlog of 85,000 claims that had accumulated under the old rules between 1984 and 1988.

But statistics obtained from the minister's department showed a record of unprocessed claims. McDougall implicitly said that the backlog clearance program would take two years to complete with the department deporting any false claimants. At the time, her own officials estimated that genuine claims accounted to 70 per cent of the total. More than two years later, officials have settled only 18,000 backlog cases—deporting just 330 claimants while allowing 17,400 to stay in the country and raising removal orders against the remaining 260. Another 28,000 claimants have at least

begun the screening process, and program supervisors say that as many as 5,000 others may have left the country voluntarily. Meanwhile, the program's cost has ballooned to \$179 million. Said Toronto immigration lawyer Richard Bonta: "Barbara said, 'I'm playing hardball.' What's happened since then? More consulars everywhere, and officials at this dollars are going down the drain."

Supervisors of the backlog program also say privately that the immigration department has publicly underestimated the true size of the backlog—said that it actually contains about 136,000 claimants. If true, that would mean that as many as 73,000 claimants who arrived before 1989 have not even had their claims opened. At the same time, other officials say that they are disturbed by the high acceptance rate for the processed cases.

They note that each approval of a backlog refugee claimant is an opportunity for some to immigrate who are trying to enter the country through official channels. As well, the approval

in all places that could be taken by refugees who are approved on the spot by Canadian officials in stateless regions abroad. The 1991 quota is 250,000 immigrants, including refugees. One major immigration office said that almost all of the backlog claimants "are economic migrants." He added: "There are real refugees stuck in camps all over the world, and these people are taking their places."

Administrative problems and court challenges have contributed to the delays in clearing up the backlog. But now, officials say that they expect to eliminate it, except in the Toronto region, by September. But more than half of all the cases are in the Toronto area—and screening there is well behind schedule. Many officials say that McDougall's own has only one option to predict an accuracy that would affect all the backlog refugees status as



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**Canadian**  
THE DAWN of CIVILIZED  
AIR TRAVEL.





The waiting room of a Toronto immigration office: a "frustrating" of 25,000 claimants joins a backlog of 85,000

lated immigrants. Said Toronto immigration lawyer Marcel Goss: "That would be a sensible way to deal with the overwhelming majority of these people." But department spokesman Milton Best ruled that out. Declared Best: "The minister has said many times that if we declare an amnesty, people will just go underground because of the reputation of me."

Meanwhile, many critics say that the revised system has also been a failure. For one thing, officials promised that the new system would clear refugee claims in 12 weeks. Instead, it now routinely takes a year to conclude a case. In fact, the new system has created what officials are calling a "backlog" of 25,000 cases. Said one 20-year veteran of the department, who requested anonymity for fear of losing his job: "The last system we had was bad enough, but this one is a joke."

In fact, the delays experienced under the new system are a result of a huge increase in the number of cases. In 1987, Canada processed 22,840 refugee claims. Last year, the figure had reached 35,500, partly because of an increase in the number of people fleeing conflicts in their home countries, including Sri Lanka and Somalia. But another reason for the increase, according to immigration lawyers and officials, is that the new system has failed to send a message of deterrence. Instead, they say, it has given Canada a reputation as one of

the easiest countries for claimants to enter. Said one officer at Immigration's intelligence branch: "The system has become so open that if you get a refugee who gets in, the word goes out and his whole village floods in behind him."

There is evidence to support that perception. In 1988, Canada accepted an estimated 39 per cent of refugee claimants. Under the new system, the acceptance rate has more than doubled to 78 per cent—by far the highest in any Western country. According to the statistics, Belgium's acceptance rate a recent years has been the next highest, at about 43 per cent. The United States accepts fewer than 20 per cent of asylum seekers, and Switzerland, only six per cent.

For their part, immigration department officials note that the new system was not intended to reduce the number of refugee claims, but only to discourage fraudulent ones. The distinction, according to Canada's Immigration Act, hinges on the terms of a 1953 UN convention: refugees in order to qualify is a legitimate refugee under that convention, an individual must be able to show a well-founded fear of persecution in his homeland because of race, religion, nationality, politics or membership in a particular social group.

Again, that, department spokesman Best said that the new system is working. For one thing, he noted that refugee claim from each

country in Trinidad and Portugal have almost disappeared. He added that the number of claimants has increased from countries recognized by officials as "refugee producing." In fact, an internal department report obtained by Marlene's indicates that the top five countries of origin for those seeking asylum in Canada last year were, in order, Sri Lanka, Somalia, China, Belgium and Lebanon.

Still, many officials say that the vast majority of cases from these countries are not genuine refugees according to the UN definition. Instead, they say, most claimants are simply looking for better economic conditions—and are using forged documents and fabricated accounts of persecution. Declared lawyer Borzila: "As a legal entry, the C-55 is one of the best systems in the world. The big ones is that we're getting economic refugees and they are lying to the refugee board. The board knows it's letting in criminals, but they can't prove that they aren't real refugees." Said an island member: "We get people who all expect the same story about how they were involved in a coup. It's a total fabrication—but we can't prove it. They have friends who have gone through the system and coached them."

Indeed, evidence is accumulating that some refugee claimants are profiting from the system. Marlene's has learned that at least 50 claimants from Sri Lanka are using investigations

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CANADA

tion by the RCMP in connection with smuggling aliens into Canada. Police say that some of them are accumulating refugee claimants in Sri Lanka and charging up to \$2,000 a week they call "standing fees."

For that money, prospective immigrants receive detailed instructions on the best way to

reach Canada—and what to say to Canadian authorities upon arrival. A confidential 1989 immigration deportation bulletin obtained by Marlene's quotes a passage from a letter filed in the luggage of a Sri Lankan asylum seeker. The letter advised him to "tell them as if you are fleeing from a war and stay which has happened."

The department bulletin concludes on a note of frustration. "The letter, it seems, 'clearly demonstrates to what extent our generous refugee provisions are being abused and exploited by Sri Lankan traffickers.' Indeed, some immigration officials say that departmental policy has actually made it easier for traffickers to do as they please. According to several case officers in Toronto, department managers have instructed their staff to challenge claims from about 25 countries, including Sri Lanka, at the initial inquiry stage. As a

result, they say, those claimants receive approval on the basis of little more than what they have stated on an application form—even when they arrive with fake, or no, identification. Navin Kumar Chatterjee, a 17-year veteran of the immigration department who is now an immigration consultant, "If they challenge the cases, it becomes too time-consuming. If they're throwing in the towel."

In the case of Sri Lankans, a confidential department report obtained by Marlene's shows that during the first six months of 1990, immigration officers let 96 per cent of the 3,248 cases they handled pass the first stage of inquiry unchallenged. At the second and final stage, July 89 per cent of the applicants were accepted as refugees and went on to become settled and assimilated. But other evidence shows that few would fit the definition of a refugee at the onset of a thorough investigation. In 1989, the Canadian High Commission in the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo, conducted a investigation of 30 claimants and found only six of the applicants provided totally accurate information. Sixteen case presenting officers in Toronto "We no longer protect refugees. We just let us say but who cannot along."

For her part, McDougall said that she is "surprised" by the high acceptance under the new system. "I have questions about that," she

said, "and it will be taken into account in our review." The minister added that her department has stalled the growth of the so-called backlog and is now processing as many claims as it receives. He also says that, since mid-1989, some independent refugee experts praise the system's progress. Declared Eduardo Archibald, legal protection officer in the Ottawa office of the UN High Commission for Refugees. "The question for us is, Are genuine refugees being sent back to their country of origin and their death? The answer is no. We're happy with the system."

But the apparent lack of thorough screening in some cases has raised concerns among a number of officials that Canada may be allowing criminals, as well as false refugees, to enter the country unchecked. In one incident, police in Toronto arrested seven Asian refugee claimants in early February and charged them with involvement in an international letter-smuggling network.

Immigration officials say privately that frustration has put further strain on the system. Last month, in fact, almost all of the department's 260 case and appeals officers began a campaign for higher job classifications and more pay in spite of their supervisors' directives they have begun to challenge every refugee claim. Declared Marlene's in an appeals office, a Toronto representative of the Canada Employment and Immigration Union. "We will press this already tottering system to a halt." Clearly, the huge volume of backlogged claims and the increasing number of new asylum seekers will continue to test Canada's refugee system.

PAUL KAPLAN with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

## STRANDED IN THE SYSTEM

Mary Revilla has been waiting for 34 years. The Panamanian marketing graduate arrived in Toronto three months before the December, 1959, U.S. invasion of her homeland—and claimed refugee status. Although the Conservative government pledged that a new refugee selection system that went into effect that year would process claims within 12 weeks, Revilla has still not received her initial inquiry. Caught in a bottleneck of 25,000 new, unresolved cases since 1984, she has not even been assigned a date to appear before a refugee claims determination panel. Under the new rules, refugee claimants are not granted work permits until they pass that initial inquiry. As a result, for the past 17 months Revilla, 24, has been collecting a monthly \$506 welfare residence, paying \$400 a month to live in a YWCA residence and waiting as a refugee transfer at a Toronto refugee counselling centre. "I don't want to take advantage of the aid," said Revilla. "I want

to go something back to Canada."

But not all refugees are so uncommitted. Immigration officials say that many of the 29,000 claimants still without work permits are in fact working illegally—and collecting

welfare at the same time. In some instances, stories of the system have led to criminal charges in one instance case, Laura Odo of Nigeria first claimed refugee status in Canada under a phony name in 1968, then disappeared for police issued a warrant for her arrest as a fraud charge. Last May Odo, 27, returned, and made another refugee claim under a new name—LARRY AQUINO. He told immigration officials that the Nigerian army had arrested and tortured him because he was a member of an opposition party—and made no mention of his previous visit to Canada.

But while he was waiting for his hearing Odo's friend his refugee application papers under investigation. Then, according to court

records, he used the aliases to make an uncorroborated claim, and collect about \$30,000 from various Toronto-area culture offices last summer and fall. Police arrested Odo in November. Last month, he pleaded guilty to three criminal counts, of fraud over \$2,000. He is now serving a two-month jail sentence.

For her part, Revilla said that such abuses reflect badly on all refugee claimants—those who do the desperate and fraudulent as well as the many asylum seekers stranded by the long delays in the system. "I'm waiting drama you. You don't know what's going to happen to you. If I had to sit at home and think about it all day, I'd kill myself," Revilla added.

that few clients at her centre have committed suicide. And as Revilla continues her grim wait for acceptance, the backlog of refugees behind her grows longer.

P. K.

## COVER

# THE 'FINAL PHASE'

The liberation of Kuwait has now entered a final phase. It has complete confidence in the ability of the coalition forces, unity and democracy, to accomplish their mission.

—President George Bush



For 35 days, it was called a war, but it was in fact something else: a high-noon, high-tech bombing exercise in which the targets happened to be real and the opposing army fairly mythical. The death toll was shortly topped—an estimated 20,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians, about 30

**THE EXPIRATION OF  
A HIGH-NOON  
DEADLINE CLEARED  
THE WAY FOR THE  
GROUND WAR**

coalition troops. A tanker shoot, allied soldiers called it. Or like shooting fish in a barrel. But all that changed on the weekend. George Bush, playing the blue-eyed Western sheriff, had given the Iraqi ultimatum. Feb. 23, to begin getting out of Kuwait, and when Saddam Hussein failed to do so, the dies cast out with their guns blazing. It was the kind of instantaneous assault that U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the all-things-in-commander, had long promised. And it began what Hussein had repeatedly called the "murder of all nations"—a battle that he embraced rather than admitted to what would surely have looked like the mother of all massacres.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney

said that the government was "disappointed that it has come to this." For Canadians, the start of the ground war cleared the way for a new role for the country's 25th joint squadron of C-130 Hercules based in QPR air-to-ground

Hussein's Bushy allied armor (above) awakens high-speed assault wreaking havoc on Iraq



BOB LEVIN

bombing, which Ottawa approved last week. For people around the world, Bush's dramatic ultimatum was reminiscent of the CIA's Jan. 15 deadline for an Iraqi pullout—which Hussein had also ignored, setting off the allied air strikes. This time, however, the Iraqi air force seemed ready to do it. In the hoary tradition of the Arab market, where any commodity worth having is also worth haggling over, they responded to mediation by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, agreeing negotiations over peace. Although Hussein laughed on Baghdad radio—"They want us to surrender, but of course they'll be disappointed"—Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz arrived in Moscow and promptly accepted a Soviet pullout plan.

**Retreat:** The Soviet move threatened to scutt the initiative from U.S. officials. As allied warplanes continued to wreak havoc on Iraqi radar and machines, the Americans had grown more confident of their ability to win a ground war with a minimum of coalition casualties. And their goal had plainly gone beyond the immediate aim of liberating Kuwait. They wanted Hussein out of office at the very least—Bush did not mention assassination, but he did suggest that the Iraqi military "take matters into their own hands" and force Hussein to "step aside." And if the Iraqi did accept an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, the Americans obviously wanted to be in a position to force and fast to force, with tanks and artillery left behind in the sand.

As a result, Bush, while publicly thanking Gorbachev for his efforts, twice rejected Soviet pleas that the Iraqi be accepted, the second would have given Hussein three weeks to pull out. The Americans countered with an offer of one week and, unlike the Soviet plea, they would not rescind UN resolutions that denied war reparations and imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. The deadline came and went. The allies stopped their bombing, accused Baghdad of scorched-earth policies on Kuwaiti property and atrocities against Kuwaiti people—and unleashed the full fury of Operation Desert Storm.

Bush was clearly naming a political risk. Although polls showed that he enjoyed overwhelming public support, critics were sure to portray the U.S. President as a warmonger who passed up a tangible chance for peace, the interests and men of American soldiers who die in the subsequent fighting may want to know why. As for Hussein, who has long provoked glorious martyrdom but who was apparently hiring second thoughts about his mission, the cost of his final defiance seemed certain to be devastating—cut only for Iraq but for the rest of a world at war.

## World Notes

### YELTISH UNDER FIRE

Constructive members of the Communist party challenged Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin after he made a televised call for the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. State-controlled media denounced Yeltsin, while members of the Supreme Soviet demanded a special meeting of the Russian parliament in a clear effort to force him out of office.

### TERROR CAMPAIGN

The Irish Republican Army claimed responsibility for setting off bombs at two central London railway stations, killing one man and injuring 40 other people. The attack came just 11 days after an IRA mortar attack that narrowly missed Prime Minister John Major's residence.

### THAI COUP

Thailand's military overthrew its democratic government in a bloodless coup. Prime Minister Chatuchit Choonbavan, whose 1988 became Thailand's first democratically elected leader in more than a decade, had tried to reduce the armed forces' influence over political affairs.

### CRIMINAL YUGOSLAVIA

The potential breakup of Yugoslavia moved closer to reality after both Croatia and Slovenia, the two most prosperous of the nation's six republics, passed secessionist legislation. The Croatian parliament voted to nullify the right to override federal laws that might jeopardize its sovereignty. And the Slovenian parliament approved a law stripping the federal government of all powers and functions performed by the central government in Belgrade.

### TOPPING A DICTATOR

Anti-Communist forces demonstrated in the Albanian capital of Tirana and toppled a giant statue of former dictator Enver Hoxha, who died in 1985. Then, they rolled his head through the city streets to the university campus, where some protesters urinated on it. The next day, the crowds burned Hoxha's portraits, chanting "freedom" and "democracy."

### PREPARING NEGOTIATIONS

In a fundamental policy change, the African National Congress agreed to abandon its long-standing demand for the nationalization of key South African industries. Meanwhile, the informal government of President F. W. de Klerk released seven convicted anti-apartheid prisoners, opening the way for constitutional negotiations.

# A BEAR LEADS THE INVASION

## SCHWARZKOPF CONDUCTS TOTAL WAR



Beside Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf's cot in his headquarters bunker in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, a school of Lusitane Franciscans, Willie Nelson, Bob Dylan. On the wall, there are pictures of his wife, Barbara, and former flight attendants, and their three children. They are among his loves. Another is the military planning with it, growing with it and, finally, leaving it in war. The Gulf War—and on huge grandiose—here, finding the chance to fight on a massive scale. And Schwarzkopf, very early known as the Bear and Saddam Hussein, now commands the largest military force since D-Day, June 6, 1944. If the Gulf War ends with an unopposed victory for the US-led coalition against Saddam Hussein's Iraq troops, he may well assume the status of such commanders as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Ulysses S. Grant, or even his predecessors, Alexander the Great.

President George Bush has made it clear that politicians will not try to second-guess his battlefield actions. Schwarzkopf also enjoys the support and admiration of Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Theoretical strategic and tactical decisions from now and the last gasp first run almost entirely with the 240-B, sergeant, three-star officer. Said Schwarzkopf, 56: "When you go to war, you go to war as the way. That's where I come from."

**Baby:** The hard-fought four-star general will command a total force of 475,000 troops, including 145,000 Americans. In Iraq and occupied Kuwait, about the same number of troops are arrayed against him—fighting in desert terrain and in a climate where they have thrived.

The son of a New Jersey policeman who himself became a general, Schwarzkopf was awarded two tours of duty in Vietnam—one of them touched by scandal—and in command of the commandant 1983 invasion of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada. Of Vietnam, he



The general: "I don't want my troops to die"

replied: "It left a lot of scars. I was on the Cambodian border at a time when the enemy could attack across the border and beat up on you and do anything that he wanted. That's not my favorite way to fight a war."

In command of Operation Desert Storm, Schwarzkopf has directed the air bombardment of Iraq targets in Kuwait, Iraq, and on Hussein's doorstep in Baghdad. At the same time, Schwarzkopf may co-ordinate a massive amphibious assault on the beaches of Kuwait and an armored attack into Iraq, towards the southern city of Basra. There seemed little doubt: the children forces would prevail, but the cost in dead and wounded on both sides

could be high, perhaps well into the thousands. That is a prospect that, according to those who know him, troubles him deeply. Said his wife: "He cares about all his warriors of peace. All those wonderful men and women. Their safety is his main concern. He talks about it all the time." Declared the general: "My nightmare is that I will give an order that will cause countless numbers of human beings to lose their lives. I don't want my troops to die."

Schwarzkopf, who says that he has an 11 of 178 graduated from West Point in 1966, 43rd in his class of 480. Then, he said, he was determined to follow in the footsteps of his father whom he describes as his "hero." Schwarzkopf Sr. also graduated from the academy, served in the First World War and rose to the rank of a lieutenant-general, before becoming the head of the New Jersey state police. In that job, he became famous as the leader of the investigation into the controversially-charged 1937 kidnapping and murder of the baby of prominent senator Charles Lindbergh. Later he returned to the army and helped train the Shah of Iran's superior police. During his father's subsequent postings in Europe, the young Schwarzkopf became fluent in French and German. He also learned the slang of the military. One of his favorite slogans became: "I guarantee you that if we fight, we will win."

**Media:** In Vietnam, some of his troops were killed by their own artillery, but a subsequent book, *Friendly Fire*, is a TV documentary and army aviators' counteracted him of any wrongdoing. That experience, as well as the domestic disillusionment with the Vietnam War, clearly affected Schwarzkopf. He later said: "You go off and fight, and suddenly a decision is made: 'You guys were all wrong. You're a bunch of dirty bastards. You never should have been there.'"

The superior commander, given to explore imperceptible, has won a variety of military honors. His decorations include three Silver Stars, awarded for bravery under fire, three Bronze Stars, also for combat courage, and two Purple Hearts for wounds suffered in Vietnam.

In retrospect, Schwarzkopf's ascent to base has been preparing all his life for his role in the Gulf. For one thing, he predicted in 1983 that the next large-scale military confrontation would take place in that region. Indeed, only five days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, he was confabbing an exercise in Florida in anticipation of just such an eventuality. Said Schwarzkopf, surprised to find himself in action: "It was rare, rare, rare—there kids and a dog, and we all had planes," he said. "And some of them called for land to be away from home in the middle of the South Arabian desert." Now, in many ways, Norman Schwarzkopf will be the savior of the peace that a talent to serve. □



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A BLENDING OF ART AND MACHINE.



# BLUEPRINT FOR THE ASSAULT

## THE ALLIES EXECUTE THEIR WAR PLAN



Flying at 500 miles an hour at the speed of light, the coalition forces launched their assault on Iraq from the north. Saudi Arabia had thousands of U.S. troops and U.S. Navy ships in the Persian Gulf.

the casual air of a highway driver checking his blind spot. "These are the folks," said Hensch, gesturing to those of the aircraft U.S. bombers cutting across his flight path just over half a mile away. The bombers disappeared, heading south for an allied airbase and a fresh crop of explosives. But minutes later, three more bombers appeared in the clouds, flying above the target area. They were heading north for another target in Kuwait. Viewed from the cockpit of the VC-10, a four-engine jet, the scene was a chaotic jumble of aircraft, fuel tanks, and a steady stream of U.S. jets. The coalition forces were attacking Iraq from the north. Saudi Arabia had thousands of U.S. troops and U.S. Navy ships in the Persian Gulf.

Allied commanders claimed that was the best way to counter Iraq's dug-in defense posture. Ever since Saddam Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, his troops have locked themselves in fortified bunkers for the constant attack. And despite more than a month's pounding from the air, the Iraqis appeared to be prepared to fight a grueling war of attrition that could include the use of chemical weapons.

**Bolt:** The two sides together have more than a million armed men and weapons, with close to half of them at the front. Both sides possess the most powerful weapons in the history of warfare. The allies displayed that power during early fighting last week in an acknowledged attempt to intimidate the Iraqis. The British led a barrage from their mobile launch rocket systems, which can rapidly deliver a ripple of rockets in lengths over 30 miles away. U.S. forces pounded a bunker with rockets from attack helicopters, forcing the surrender of 421 Iraqi military troops. But in the full-blown land attack, few as-

sumptions, speed, shock and firepower." The attack was planned to take shape after a punishing combined air and artillery bombardment that said was U.S. marine officers. "We're going down as much as possible." The battle plan called for allied ground forces in the front were to pierce the Iraqi lines at selected, weakened points along the Kuwait border. Army engineers, under the cover of air attacks on Iraqi artillery batteries, have laid out engineers to demolish enemy-placed land mines. The so-called base clearing would create gaps for armored troops to pour through. Spearheaded by the speedy M1-A1 tank, the allied forces then planned to drive deep into Kuwait. As these gaps widened, more and more troops would converge and attack the Iraqi positions from the sides and the rear with so-called bunker-busting rockets.

Then, thousands of coalition troops poured along the Saudi Iraq border west of Kuwait would sweep through southern Iraq towards the coastline, destroying Hussein's forces by attacking from the side. That assault would eventually surround the forward line divisions of Iraq's army in Kuwait. As these divisions, another coalition force would sweep along Iraq's oil-rich Republican Guard dug in along the Iraq Kuwait border, cutting them off from Baghdad.

"We have the ability to strike deep, strike quick and strike out there up," said Marine Officer Todd Miller, 38, who pilots U.S. Apache attack helicopters. "I can teach those guys you back and they will never see it coming."

At the same time, U.S. marines would launch a two-pronged amphibious landing through man-made Gulf waters onto the beaches of Kuwait. That operation might involve a diversion to keep the Iraqis off balance. American planners said that tanks and deception.

### STAGES IN A LAND WAR

- Massive artillery, air, naval barrage
- Coalition armies charge Iraqi lines
- Attackers exploit gaps in defense
- Armies encircle Iraqi positions
- U.S. marines attack from the Gulf

would play a critical role in their offensive strategy.

The ground plan for the invasion was based on the principles contained in an American army doctrine called *Airland Battle*. The theory behind *Airland Battle* is an American military policy at the early 1980s. Designed to make use of the U.S. Army's store of armor, mobile weapons systems, and other forces as "aggressive, offensive units" that focus almost all tactical decisions to the on-site commanders of small units. These ground forces on-site destroy the enemy's armor and support units during close-contact fighting.

The senior officers based at Central Command Headquarters in Riyadh claimed that the allies were assured of victory as a land war, but acknowledged that it would be painful. They said that Iraq still had stockpiles of chemical weapons, despite the bombing campaign designed to destroy them. And without coalition bombing to prevent Iraqi engineers from

trying to repair roads and build porton bridges. Said one U.S. military source who requested anonymity: "We were impressed by the tenacity of these folks. There are a lot of professional soldiers out there."

**Insights:** The most professional are Hussein's 120,000-man Republican Guard, who would fight in the border marshes of southern Iraq where they train. Coalition commanders acknowledged that they had to find ways to force the Guards, veterans of the eight year Iran-Iraq war, out of their bunkers to engage them to attack by helicopters and heavy tanks. And the only way to do that, they said, was by attacking them on the ground.

Even after months away from home, allied soldiers continued to express an intense emotion that a land battle was both painful and necessary. On a Patriot missile base in the middle of the Saudi desert early in the week, 35-year-old Sgt. Joseph Morano of Lubbock,

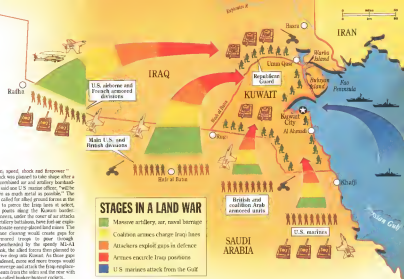
Texas, stated that he did not want to go home until Hussein was toppled. Declared Morano: "I don't think the men should go free. He should be punished."

On Saturday, a British C-130 Hercules transport plane, ferrying troops and supplies to the front, had to fly just 250 feet above the ground because of low-flying Iraqi fighters. The plane was carrying the remains of the Queen's Dragoon Guard, and that job is a ground mission is to penetrate Iraqi lines and call in targets for artillery and air strikes. "It took us all night to go through a couple of weeks of sheer hell that to sit around for another six months rebuilding our tanks," he said. The following day, as the brutal ground battle began, it appeared that Morano would get his wish.

BRUCE WALLACE is in Saudi Arabia.



Just as expected, the coalition forces to meet the Iraqi forces. That kind of attack would almost certainly turn into what Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of Operation Desert Storm, portrayed as a "great grudge." Since the beginning of the war, the coalition forces have committed their resources, and they chose a bold plan for the ground campaign. As one senior American military source put it early last week: "It will be a high-tech, fast pace of warfare, which allows us to keep





COVER

# THE HAZARDS OF WITHDRAWAL

## IRAQ'S ESCAPE ROUTE WILL BE ROCKY



It took Iraq forces just one day to invade Kuwait and occupy the tiny emirate's capital on Aug. 2. But the journey back across their own border to the fire of the weekend may be a long and complicated process. In the nearly seven months since the invasion, as many as 500,000 Iraqi troops have dug in on the desert battlefield, some of them as far as 150 km from Iraq on the Kuwait-Saudi Arabian border. At the same time, they have burned hundreds of tanks and artillery pieces in the sand as a precaution

against enemy bomb attacks. Meanwhile, coalition warplanes have relentlessly targeted the likely escape routes, obliterating or disabling bridges, railways, roads and transport vehicles in Iraq and Kuwait. "If you're going to march the troops out, it's a major logistical headache," said John Martinson, editor of the Toronto-based Canadian Defence Quarterly. "You've got to feed them, provide them with water—and I wonder how much of this Iraqi ally is left." Using truckloads of food from Kuwait, he says, more Iraqi troops out of the war zone may be impossible because so many bridges have been destroyed.

Still, President George Bush gave the Iraqis just one week to complete a withdrawal. And

U.S. military police restraining Iraqi captives, risking Arab alienation

When House spokesman Arlie Houshaker announced other stringent conditions. Among them that Iraq must remove all explosives and booby traps, including those on Kuwait's oil installations. Military analysts say that even in a ceasefire, a complete withdrawal by the Iraqis could take several weeks. Bush's insistence on a short timetable, they added, was clearly designed to force Iraq leader Saddam Hussein to retreat without having time to pull his artillery and tanks out of the sand or drive them over the damaged roads. Said Charles Beland, president of the Canadian Defence Preparedness Association: "The timetable is the critical issue here. If you leave Saddam to a night withdrawal schedule, it would mean Iraq would have to leave most of its major equipment behind."

**Expel:** Martinson and that a withdrawal of that kind would effectively destroy the Iraqi army. "That he didn't," would probably also ease the concerns about what Iraq might attempt to do in the postwar period." UN Security Council Resolution 678, the basis for the coalition's military operation, authorized the use of force only to expel Iraq from Kuwait, but many experts claimed that the United States and its allies, particularly Iraq's neighbors, had a more extensive agenda—to destroy or severely damage Baghdad's military capability and evacuate Saddam Hussein.

Some analysts say that may be counterproductive. Deceased Alex Morrison, executive director of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, "My feeling is that you should let Saddam take most of his weapons with him. For every single step you take beyond the removal of the warlike, you risk alienating other Arab nations and creating a worldwide sympathy for Saddam."

**Reliable:** In Jerusalem, however, Israeli leaders said that Baghdad's war machine must be dismantled to prevent a future conflict. In 1973, since the outbreak of war last month, at least 37 Iraqi Scud missiles have hit Israel and the occupied territories, killing four people, wounding more than 260 and setting some 200 cars on fire. All the missiles carried conventional warheads. Said Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens: "Hope at the end of the crisis there will be no conventional weapons in Iraq's hands, but we have to remember that the Iraqis are not just at the moment and not the conventional area."

It is unclear how many of Iraq's battlefield weapons have been destroyed or destroyed by coalition bombing. But reliable military sources estimated that at the end of December, Iraq had about 2,000 Scud missiles and T-65 and T-62 tanks inside Kuwait, as well as 2,500 armored fighting vehicles and 2,700 artillery pieces in the western part of the country.

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remove the mines." Clearing minefields is a dangerous undertaking because unexploded anti-personnel mines can be scattered among more obvious anti-tank mines. Coalition forces may use a device called the Gas Tiger, a rocket attached to two sets of explosives, to clear a lone shot, seven metres wide through a mine field. But experts say that even with Iraq assistance, some types of mines will have to be moved by hand and only Iraqi engineers may have detailed plans of their placement. Said Morrison: "It's going to take an army of people working day and night for one half of a long period of time to lift the mines. That is a project that could take a couple of years following a withdrawal."

**Crises:** Another looming problem is housing refugees. Bush and the allies say that the Iraqis launched a "scorched-earth" policy in Kuwait, deliberately setting fire to oil wells and refineries to destroy the emirate's main industry. At week's end, U.S. military officials claimed that Iraq destroyed or set afire up to 300 of Kuwait's 1,200 oil wells. Gulf oil managers and that a burning well can take up to six months to extinguish. And if Iraq systematically destroys Iraq's oil-producing capability, they said, postwar reconstruction costs to the emirate could run well above the previous estimate of \$10 billion. At the same time, the smoke from the burning wells could provide withdrawing Iraqi protection from air and ground attacks.

The United States and Britain insist that Iraq must accept the terms of all 15 Security Council resolutions passed since Aug. 2. Those terms cover, among other things, the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty and the immediate exchange of prisoners of war, including the estimated 2,000 captured Kuwaiti soldiers. Iraq would also have to accept liability for property damage and war crimes committed by its occupation forces. By accepting those conditions, Iraq could renounce its coalition on the battlefield, but at a heavy price and at an enormous price.

One issue problem that could arise before a withdrawal even begins was a mass Iraqi surrender under fire. Said MacDonald: "Under the Geneva Convention, we are obliged to feed them, supply them with water and medical treatment. Supply conditions in the Gulf are very difficult—it is hard enough to take care of the forces we have there now. So what do you do if you suddenly have about 250,000 more people in the desert, starved, short of food, water, and with spreading disease?" After winning the war, the allies may find the mechanisms of peace more difficult than most of those ever imagined.

ANDREW BRILLMAN and BRUCE WALLACE in Riyadh; ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa and WILLIAM JOHNSON in Washington

Kuwait superimposed over two Canadian regions: thousands of mines and booby traps





CF-18 ready for action in Qatar controversy over an escalating role

## FLYING INTO NEW DANGERS

WHY CANADA IS IN AN ATTACK ROLE



The general charge of running Canada's war effort was blunt: coalition forces in the Persian Gulf had it war to win, and Canadian bombs would help them.

Last week, following Ottawa's announcement that Canadian CF-18 fighter jets as the Gulf would begin bombing Iraq targets, Gen. John de Chastelain explained to *Newsweek* the reasons behind that decision. Bombs left behind in Germany when CF-18s first arrived in the Gulf last October with no assignments for air-to-ground duties could be transported as a day to the Canadian airbase at Qatar. French crews of pilots from the CF-18 base at Bagdad, Iraq—scheduled to return colleagues in the Gulf by the end of February—had been posted to the latest techniques of dropping bombs on enemy positions. The Iraqi air defence was dismantled. Other coalition forces were stopping aircraft to join the bombing missions over Iraq and Kuwait. But above all, and the general

at, coalition forces would need more support during the ground war. Adair de Chastelain: "It would have been very difficult for us—knowing that we had aircraft to do this role—not to do a base where coalition forces might be dying for lack of an air-strike effort from the air."

**Unavoidable** That escalation of Canada's air operations in the Gulf involved robust authorization at midnight. Some of the 26 CF-18s in the Gulf will be ready for a ground-attack role within days. The rest of the fleet will become operational as the refueling is accomplished and pilots retrained in air-to-ground warfare are stationed there. The Canadian dual-purpose fighters, which until now have been flying sweep and escort missions for U.S. bombers, could help develop Iraq's military installations and supply lines. Although de Chastelain called the Canadian Forces' traditional peacekeeping role "mobile," he said that the shift to an air-to-ground campaign was unavoidable. "There is something that is too close about Canadians who want to be involved in the war, but not too involved," he said. "That was not the basis on

which you went into this war."

Still, opposition critics were clearly uncomfortable with Canada's new commitment. Until mid-February, the Conservative government repeatedly insisted that the CF-18s were unlikely to be used to bomb ground targets. But according to senior officers who asked not to be quoted, extensive consultations on changing Canada's air role were taking place between coalition members and Canadian commanders in the Gulf at the same time. Senior defence critic John Brown, for one, condemned the government for what he called its "despicable deception." The new offensive role, he said, erodes Canada's peacekeeping status and makes the country "complicitous with [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein in the killing of tens of thousands of people."

But there was little doubt, even among critics, that the crisis. However, as well equipped to perform an offensive capacity. In fact, the \$10-million fighter—the source of controversy from the accident Ottawa ordered 138 of the sleek, U.S.-built jets in 1980—has exceeded defence department expectations in the Gulf. Its performance has clearly provided a welcome relief for the military. Five CF-18 crashes last year brought to 11 the number that have gone down since Ottawa began acquiring the fleet—and led to renewed debate about the safety of the aircraft and the effectiveness of Canada's fighter-pilot training program. But in 23 weeks on active duty in the Gulf, the planes have successfully completed more than 2,000 missions.

Officials say that the aircraft require only minimal adjustments to prepare for their missions. The first shipment of air-to-ground missiles and bombs arrived at the Gulf from Germany on the day of Ottawa's announcement. Meanwhile, pilots from Germany—who will join Bagdadville pilots in refueling efforts now stationed in the Gulf—are expected to complete refueling missions within two weeks. They will then be ready to fly aircraft carrying up to 10,000 lb of bombs and rockets. Among the armaments weapons, Canadian-designed GUN-7 rockets with semi-parabolic warheads, and Rockeye cluster bombs made up of 247 so-called bomblets. The CF-18s are also equipped with 20-mm Valourine cannons capable of destroying tanks. "You will not win the war with our aircraft," said de Chastelain. "But we might win a battle or two." For many Canadians, that was enough cause for a swell of pride. But, for others, it was an unnecessary erosion of the nation's peacekeeping reputation.

**E. KAYE FULTON** is Ottawa

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# PREPARED FOR COMBAT

## LIFE AMONG THE TROOPS AT CANADA DRY



It was only 9:00 a.m., but the Persian Gulf was not hot enough to soothe as yet. In the rain-soaked Qatar desert outside the Canadian military base known as Canada Dry

One, two soldiers hit golf balls back and forth. One swung a seven iron, but the ball hit a rock and went straight up. The other soldier shouted his eyes against the glass, seated at the fire and command. "He's too close!" Two kilometers to the northwest, loaded the heavily guarded airbase for Canada, U.S. and French fighter squadrons. Col. Gerald Simko MacKinnon of Wadding, Ont., sat at an outdoor picnic table. Unlike the golfers, he appeared to be relaxed, although at less than five hours he would climb into his CF-18 jet parked nearby and join three other Canadian pilots for a steep and exact mission over Iraq. "Every time you fly," and the 27-year-old MacKinnon, "you think maybe today will be the day the Iraqis will come up to meet you."

Ordnance's decision to commit the 36 CF-18s and their 36 pilots to a full combat role will have little effect on the rest of the 710-member Canadian contingent based in the tent, all-civilian soldiers of Qatar. For the perpetually groundcrews, cooks, storekeepers, motor-pool drivers, engineers, postal clerks and support workers—half for the 120 soldiers of the Royal 22nd Regiment deployed in unbagged bunkers to protect everybody else—their day is much the same as any day.

They work 11-hour shifts, write letters, take home laundry, play cribbage, ball hockey and volleyball, and watch videos from a VHS cassette library in Germany.

Among the pilots, however, there are airborne and involved personnel—for flying for the CF-18 itself, for the elusive prospect of deadly combat. "Basically," said MacKinnon, "you become very much what you are about to undertake when you get into that

plane. It's important to have a very clear mind because, otherwise, bad things could happen to you. You have to rely on yourself, and it kind of becomes part of your personality." He added: "Even if you're flying with other guys, you're still your own island. Somebody shoots a missile at you, somebody else is going to be able to do a thing for you."

MacKinnon sold his 13-year-old Pontiac to pay for his first flying lessons when he graduated from high school in 1983. He graduated from the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., in 1987, and two years later he was flying CF-5 interceptors. When he was ordered to the

One. The chivariquet is a leather made of four by-fours supporting a plywood roof. Sandbags are piled underneath around the four sides. Pte Mario Panto, 30, of Moncton, N.B., leaned on the stack of his G-3 machine-gun watching Pte Stephane Fortin (see related, 38, of Ottawa) search the Qatar desert of a dislodged Israeli tank that was delivering water. Stephane searched the track, too. The driver grunted nervously as Stephane waved him through.

When the war began on Jan. 17, the Canadians were first confined to the base because their officers did not know if the Iraqis would fire missiles at Qatar. When the threat passed,

pentier and asked, "You been to Casablanca?" The reporter said "No. What's a Mee?" Replied Stephane: "I don't know, but I would like to go there some day."

A visitors' guide puts the population of the 4,400-square-mile shelter at 375,000 people, most of whom live in Doha. On the city's concrete-rimmed roads, Arabic in flowing robes huddle along in 1980s while talking on car phones. The beachfront is dominated by the large-and-white palace of the country's emir for the past 19 years, Sheik Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani. The palace is rumored to have cost \$230 million and to contain a chandelier weighing 30 tons.

The emir's portrait hangs brightly from the walls of government offices, in public buildings and inside the corner of the Qatar phone book, which is available in English and Arabic. Several times a day, Qatar television interrupts Qatari coverage of the war to broadcast the adhan, the Muslim call to prayer. During the weekdays to the fortress, the current pass suddenly across mosques and mosques towers.

Last week, on the biggest single personnel rotation so far, 29 Canadians left for their German home bases at Lahe and Ruler-Solligen. Among them was Capt. Bruce (Digger) Higgins, 38, of Calgary, who had flown 36 missions over Iraq and Kuwait. Asked what he would remember about Qatar, he said: "The staying there at night. Some say, some think it's every other pilot, but a lot more of them and a lot closer. You could look down and see Kuwait City, and all the lights were on and you could see the oil fields, and glow in the horizon. There was the sparkle and flash of explosives and the tracers coming up, and it seemed like a little bit. Even if it wasn't aimed at you, it was aimed at somebody." Higgins said he had mixed feelings about going home. "I want to see my wife," he said, "but the job's not done here and I feel bad about leaving when we're not."

Members of the group left Qatar in the morning and their replacements arrived that evening. One of those left his behind undisturbed, and somebody leaving that it might contain a bomb, called the Explosives Ordnance Disposal crew, which has not had much to do since arriving last fall. They cleaned the area off, turned back a robot equipped with a high-pressure water cannon. The robot blew the backdoor and the papers it contained to pieces. A military spokesman said that "there was nothing left but the handle." But he re-



Bell hockey in Qatar: 11-hour shifts, then writing home, playing cribbage and watching videos

lused to identify the owner or what the papers had been. "Well," said Maj. Robin Allard, 44, of Guelph, Ont., chief of the local media-information centre, "it's one thing he won't know to carry home."

Many Canadians have learned a few words in Arabic, including: *marhaba* (hello), *ja'f* (hello how are you?) and *shukran* (thank you). The effort obviously pleases the Qatars, who say that it is a way to distinguish Canadians from Americans. One Qatari army officer said that his men were intrigued by how often Americans looked at their watches, and as a result they now refer to them as "watchesmen." The French, he added, were "confusing."

But Canadian attempts to communicate often meet cultural obstacles. At the gateway to the shrine, guarded by black-beretted Qatari soldiers carrying automatic weapons, visitors are to surrender their passports until they leave, and show the names, addresses, make and color of their vehicles. One reporter said that the car's manufacturer listed its color as champagne. The Qatars, residents of a generally nonalcoholic shakedown, laughed and said that was very funny. They settled on beige.

The commander of the Canadian forces in Qatar is Col. Romeo Lalonde, 56, of Port-au-Prince, Ont. The son of a private owner and one of 13 children, Lalonde has been an air force pilot for 28 years. Asked how he liked flying, he was replied: "It beats driving a garbage truck in Quebec."

On a day in the summer of 1972, Lalonde was flying one of five fighters returning to the

Canadian Forces base at Bagdadiya, Que., when thunderstorms forced them to delay their landing. "When we finally did," said Lalonde, "I came in behind Joe Diogenes and there was standing water on the runway. When I touched down, I pulled the drag chute, but it just fell out onto the runway because it hadn't been hooked up properly."

"So I'm doing about 150 miles an hour and I'm catching up to Joe pretty fast. I got the nose down and tried braking, but I was hydroplaning. The right hand wheel and I started going sideways. I had no control. I reached to Joe and said: 'Move to the right. Joe, I'm coming by your left.' I went to him at better than 100 miles an hour at 90 degrees, my nose pointing at him, and went off the side of the runway, almost backwards. I was OK and they fixed the plane. It's all flying."

Around-the-clock, the mass of fighters taking off in groups of between two and six at a time creates the wideness of buildings as the eastern outskirts of Doha. The delta-winged French Mirage are the most. When the U.S. F-16s decelerate while moving in to land, they emit a noise that sounds like a falling bomb. Early in the war, when servers were particularly on edge, an F-16 landed in the middle of an air-attack alert at Canada Dry One and the troops drove for cover. There were more than two dozen alerts in the first three weeks of the war, a war that tested the nerve of Canada's pilots and their ground support crews as never before.

RAE CORRELL in Doha



Lalonde ready on the tarmac: "It beats driving a garbage truck in Penetang"

Persian Gulf three weeks ago he had been Sgts 2-18 for 14 months out of the Canadian Forces base in Cold Lake, Alta., where his wife, Karen, resides. "I talked to her a couple of days ago and told her it's just like a training mission here," he said. "But I think she worries a lot."

A lot of dead wood across the featureless landscape to the five-acre site of Canada Dry

most of the troops received their food through the middle of Doha, the Qatari capital, a 10-minute drive from the camp. The two-line baggages in subcontainers, bags, gold and brassware. The two forties brought modern electronic toys. "They're real cheap," said Major "Only about \$200 Canadian." Both men are single. Said Major: "The girl I love in Canada is gone, and the one in Germany is about gone." Stephane then turned to a re-



# A FAILED BID FOR PEACE

## GORBACHEV TRIES TO END THE WAR



From the sidelines of the high-velocity Gulf War, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev tried a less violent approach: high-level diplomacy. Warning his country out of the battle while officially supporting the anti-Iraq coalition, Gorbachev positioned himself to play the honest broker. But President George Bush and other leaders of the multinational coalition rejected Gorbachev's attempts, arguing that it reflected too many concessions to Iraq. President Saddam Hussein. And if the weekend, the active ground campaign began. Still, the Soviet action was widespread praise for a man whose political image has lost the lustre of the Nobel Peace Prize that he won last year. Gorbachev showed his hard-line domestic critics that he was still able to restore some of the waning Soviet prestige in the Middle East. And he demonstrated to the world at large that, despite all his crushing internal problems, he remains a noteworthy force.

**Pleasant.** The White House, however, was plainly displeased with Gorbachev's initiative, although it stopped short of saying so. "The Soviet proposal, in its original form, fell well short of the minimum requirements of the Americans and other members of the anti-Iraq coalition, including Canada. Although his proposal on longer attempted to create leverage between the Russians and Palestinian problems, and although the Iraqis said that they agreed to a "full and unconditional withdrawal," the plan did, in fact, contain conditions. It stipulated that after Security Council resolutions passed against Iraq, Iraq must first agree to cease its use should lapse after a withdrawal was complete. That would relieve Baghdad of the obligation to make requests to Kuwait and to comply with its annexation of the emirate. As well, the plan contained no timetable for the withdrawal. And it called for the United Nations to drop economic sanctions against Iraq after Baghdad had pulled out only two-thirds of its troops.

Bush clearly believed that a settlement on those terms would be too lenient, leaving Hussein militarily powerful and able to chase a mixed victory. Said a U.S. administration official on condition of anonymity: "It would be an

overstatement to say that Bush is angry with Gorbachev or that aggressive nations are threatened." But he added: "The President is not pleased."

Over the past two years, and especially since the collapse of the Eastern European Communist Bloc in late 1989, Bush and Gorbachev have established a bond of mutual confidence that has helped to transform superpower relations. Bush, sensitive to Gorbachev's problems as he tries to hold his country together while liberalizing Soviet society and moving toward a market economy, has earned criticism of the

Still, Bush went out of his way late last week to sound complimentary about the Soviet leader's intervention. "We very strongly appreciate it," he said, even as he brushed aside the Gorbachev peace plan. Facing a battery of TV cameras in the White House Rose Garden, Bush gave the biggest public statement since pulling out of Iraq in 1972 on Saturday. Or here a massive 1200 ground offensive. A subsequent White House statement stipulated that all Iraq troops must leave Kuwait City, the capital, within 48 hours of the Saturday deadline, and that they must leave the rest of the country within a week.

Struggling to save the Gorbachev initiative, Kremlin officials had concocted a round a new and less formal name for what they had originally termed a "plan"—a euphemism referred to a "list of ideas." And in light of the Bush administration's objections, Gorbachev and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz began working on a new version. Gorbachev then spent more than an hour on the telephone to the White House explaining it to the President. Next, the plan set no precise date for the start of a pullout, calling only for the withdrawal to begin the day after a ceasefire. But it dropped the demand for economic sanctions to be lifted after a partial pullout. And it proposed a timetable under which the Iraqis would evacuate Kuwait City within four days and the whole country within three weeks. But that fell well short of the coalition's demands. Said White House spokesman Martin Flinn: "The revised plan is an improvement, but it still

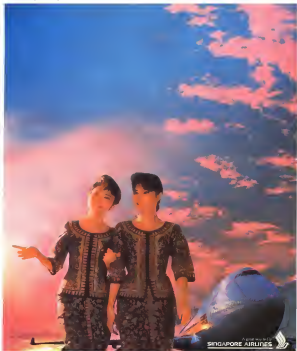
has its differences." Bush then issued his ultimatum for Iraq to withdraw. Analysts said that although Gorbachev took the chance of alienating Bush by his intervention in the Gulf crisis, he had a great deal to gain politically within the Soviet Union. The war was taking place practically in his backyard, with about 200 km of Iranian territory separating northern Iraq from the southern Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. And although the



Azin and Gorbachev: reviving Iraqi withdrawal proposals

Soviet leader's strong-arm tactics against breakaway Soviet republics, notably Lithuania, in return for Bush's restraint, Gorbachev has given full diplomatic support to U.S. efforts to force Iraq out of Kuwait. But lately, he has begun to express misgivings about the intensity of U.S.-led military action against Iraq, the Soviet Union's constant ally. Gorbachev's misgivings led to his peacekeeping initiative, which clearly undercut U.S. objectives.

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## BUSINESS

# A MATTER OF PRIVACY

With its black marble floors, vaulted ceiling and stunning view of the Rocky Mountains, the executive suite in Petro-Canada's 50-story headquarters is easily one of the most opulent settings in the Calgary oil industry. But currently, the Crown-owned energy company is trying hard to live down its reputation among oilers as the pampered offspring of big government. Created 15 years ago as Ottawa's window on the oil industry, Petro-Canada is now a \$6.8-billion enterprise growing up for the first phase of its planned privatization: the sale of 15 per cent of the company to investors later this year. To that end, chief executive officer Wilbert Hopper is attempting to convince skeptics that the sprawling giant can hold its own in the competitive world of private business. But as Marjorie Barrison, Hopper, 37, acknowledges: "We have been clinging up to us. Compared with our competitors, we are well aware of our lower performance."

As recently as five years ago, many veterans of the highly litigious establishment would have

## PETRO-CANADA SAYS THAT IT IS READY TO STAND ON ITS OWN AGAINST ANY OIL COMPANY

considered the survival of Petro-Canada without government protection as fairly ridiculous. In an industry that prides itself on rugged entrepreneurship, the state-owned company had embarked on a long-term strategy of shopping away, buying up large chunks of the energy sector and investing in risky, high-cost megaprojects. But lately, Hopper's drive to make Petro-Canada more competitive has forced the

company to reexamine its long-standing protectionist measures. Since 1980, the company has set its worldwide oil, 1,000 to 4,500, mobilized one of its five refineries and put more than \$500 million into oil-and-gas assets up for sale.

As painful as those measures have been, most industry analysts say that they were necessary to prove that Petro-Canada is serious about living by the rules of the open market. In fact, there are likely to be even more changes in the near future. At least five members of Petro-Canada's 15-member board of directors have close ties to the federal Conservatives, including former party president William Jewett, businessman John Lundgren of St. John's, Nfld., and restaurateur David Bond of Dartmouth, N.S. But according to a senior Tory adviser in Ottawa, most of those political appointees are destined to lose their positions when shares in the company begin to trade publicly. As Canada's board of directors experience a similar transformation after that company's privatization in 1998. "Trust me—

the new Petro-Canada board is going to look a lot different than the existing one," the senior adviser said. "Most of the party guys, these are going to be much harder-core businessmen."

Unlike some of his board members, Hopper appears likely to survive the privatization process unscathed. Once scolded by other oil executives as an underperformer, then the federal bureaucracy, the Ottawa-born Hopper has been an advocate of decentralization almost from the moment that the Times took office in 1984. One of the new government's first acts was to announce that in the future, Petro-Canada's officials would be expected to run the company like any other commercial enterprise. Hopper, who began his career in the oil business as a geologist for Imperial Oil in the 1950s and was an assistant deputy minister of energy in Ottawa before he joined Petro-Canada,

says that he welcomes the challenge. He added that he wants to continue to discount the company's image as a tool of public policy and judgment so its accomplishments. Defending Hopper: "We put our public dues and gave us."

Despite his detailed plan for privatization, one thing that appears to be beyond Hopper's control is the timing of the public share offering. Last month, Parliament gave final approval to a bill authorizing the 15-per-cent sale, a stake analysts estimate to be worth as much as \$750 million. But until last summer, the exciting event in the Premier's Gold had been deferred at least twice and made it harder for either

the government or investors to set a realistic value on the company. Hopper says that it is up to Ottawa to determine the timing of the sale. "If the market is flat, we just wait," he says.

Although Hopper denies that he is impatient about the delay, there is little doubt that Petro-Canada urgently needs a cash infusion. As a public policy tool to ensure energy self-sufficiency, the company in its early years focused primarily on costly, long-term frontier exploration and development projects. That strategy changed dramatically in 1983 when it bought Petrolia Canada Inc., a Belgium-controlled oil company with 1,130 oil and gas reserves across the country. Despite that, Petro-Canada still trails its nearest competitors in short-term, cash-generating production of oil and natural gas. For the first nine months of 1994, the company reported operating profits of \$60 million as revenues of \$4.2 billion. By contrast, Imperial Oil Ltd. of Toronto reported operating profits in the same period of \$282 million on revenues of \$8.2 billion, while Shell Canada Ltd. of Calgary had operating profits of \$164 million on revenues of \$3.9 billion.

Moreover, Petro-Canada's spending commitments are about to increase dramatically. Between 1994 and 1996, the firm will spend \$1 billion for its 20-per-cent share in the development of the \$5.5-billion Hibernia oilfield off Newfoundland. That other megaproject as Petro-Canada's roster will likely require a total of \$3 billion over the same period.

Petro-Canada's relatively poor earnings performance and its heavy exposure to high-risk megaprojects have led many analysts to question its value for private investors. They add that the company has yet to fully streamline its operations after redefining five other energy companies during the 1980s. "It would take a well-run private company a long time to digest so many acquisitions, let alone a government-owned outfit with a political mandate," said one analyst, who asked not to be identified because his firm hopes to invest in the company from

Hopper sitting up with Petro-Canada (opposite): the pampered offspring



## Business Notes

### SOARING PRICES

Spurred by the GATT, the inflation rate peaked last first quarter of December at 6.6 per cent, a 10-year high, but fell to nearly eight years. The 13-month average monthly increase in the largest sector current records: metals were up 40 per cent in the late 1940s. Finance Minister Michael Wilson had predicted that the inflationary impact of the seven percent tax would be a modest increase of only 1.25 percentage points.

### ALGOMA RAILROAD

Algoma Steel Corp. received a \$90-million loan guarantee from the federal government to meet its payroll. The Ontario and federal governments, along with Algoma's parent, Dofasco Inc. of Hamilton, provided the loan guarantee, a temporary measure for Algoma's 5,300 employees. Under the terms of the agreement, the company has an month to restructure its \$400-million debt.

### NEW LIFE FOR GATT

Talks aimed at salvaging the latest round in the controversial multilateral GATT negotiations are to resume in Geneva this week after the European Community and the United States broke a long-standing impasse over agricultural subsidies. Under the new agreement, the community will negotiate specific constraints on reducing farm subsidies and other agricultural trade barriers.

### A TAX BREAK FOR VANCOUVER

Ottawa announced a new federal tax break aimed at attracting international shopping companies, and hundreds of jobs to Vancouver. The tax change, effective on March 1, will allow foreign shopping firms to establish operations in Vancouver without having to pay taxes on their international earnings.

### GAINING AT THE PUMP

North American gasoline prices have fallen to the levels existing before Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait. According to a federal survey, a litre of unleaded Canadian gasoline cost an average of 55.5 cents on Feb. 29, compared with about 57 cents in July. By October, prices had risen to an average of 64 cents a litre, but they began to decline again in early February as oil prices increased. A quick reaction to the Gulf crisis. Meanwhile, U.S. gasoline prices last week dropped to \$1.25 a gallon, including a 5-cent federal tax levied on Dec. 1, compared with \$1.21 in July.

the share sale. He added: "No one is going to be able to turn this operation around on a dime, so neither how badly they want to escape stock."

But Hopper rejects claims that the company's history of acquiescence will impede its future performance. "If we had kept all of the staff each time we made an acquisition, we would have 20,000 people on our payroll now," he says.

"But our human resources department is expert in downsizing. And I have never had a problem as a laid-off man." Those who remain with the company, he says, form a "core of battle survivors" capable of reacting quickly to new situations.

Hopper adds that Petro-Canada will likely find it easier than such older Crown corporations as Air Canada to adjust its life as a competitive marketplace. "There is no real tradition or history at Petro-Canada—I have been grandfathered together over 15 years," he says. "At Air Canada, on the other hand, there's a strong deep culture that goes back to the 1930s."

In fact, Hopper says that he has worked diligently to ensure that the company retains the flexibility to become stoned in layers of



**Essexville refinery, concentrating heavily on the profit line**

inefficiency. One of his strategies has been to create so-called value centers within the organization. Designed to limit the contribution of subsidiaries, the system allows self-sustained regional divisions to plan and carry out their own exploration and development projects. Says Hopper: "Employees don't have to run around to different departments at head office. They can focus on the whole project from start to finish."

allegiances, he says, is to convince Petro-Canada employees that they will have to work even harder to ensure that the company succeeds as a private enterprise. "I want them to realize we're going to look like people we don't make it," he added. Clearly, nobody has more at stake than Hopper himself.

**DEBORAH McFARLANE** in Calgary with **ROSS LAFER** in Toronto

At the same time, Hopper is convincing his company to start upgrading. In 1990, the company reduced its operating costs by about one per cent, a savings of \$165 million, by laying off staff, soliciting excess office space and cutting back on travel by company officials. In early February, Petro-Canada also sold its 25-per-cent interest in the planned \$650-million Alberta natural-gas pipeline from Alberta to the U.S. Midwest. Petro-Canada is also seeking a buyer for its 17-per-cent stake in the \$4-billion Synapse oil-sands project in northern Alberta.

Still, Hopper acknowledges that the company is far from complete. One of his key

## A possible recovery?

*Bay Street is becoming cautiously bullish*

For many Bay Street investment dealers, Calgary-based PNB Corp.'s announcement last week that it plans to raise \$161 million worth of new shares was as welcome as the first signs of spring. Last year, many brokerage houses were forced to lay off staff because of a prolonged stock market slide that led to a decline in trading activity and discouraged companies from raising new shares. Now, many brokers appear hopeful that the hard times in their industry are about to end. Since October, the Toronto Stock Exchange composite index has climbed almost 15 per cent, closing last Friday at 3,433.98. And with investors showing more confidence about the prospects for economic recovery, an increasing number of companies are hoping to cash in on the market's buoyancy by offering new shares. In the coming months, says Benjamin Joyce, an investment strategist at Toronto-based Burns Fry Ltd., "We'll see more companies coming to market."

PNB is, in fact, one of six companies taking advantage of the recent worldwide stock market rally, which has continued despite the

recession and an escalation in the Persian Gulf crisis. Last month, CV Utilities Ltd., 90-per-cent owned by the Toronto-based Rockness family, sold its 9.5-per-cent stake in Allied Lyons PLC, a British food-and-drink conglomerate, for \$900 million. Analysts say that the Rocknesses appear to be selling off some of their holdings to raise money for their \$9-billion Canary Wharf project in London, which is housing, trading, banking and insurance businesses in the British property market.

Last last week, Calgary-based Renaissance Energy Ltd. became the latest Canadian firm to take advantage of the stock market rally when it announced a share issue worth \$50.4 million.



**TSE: cashing in on buoyancy**

Among other companies that issued new shares recently are Shaw Savoy Hotels Ltd. and Hudson's Bay Co., both of Toronto.

PNB's share issue, which takes place on March 19, will be the first major share offering in Canada since last September. PNB spokesman Jack Lawrence said that the company, which owns financially ailing Canadian Airlines International Ltd., will use the

proceeds to pay down a portion of its estimated \$1-billion debt.

Most business say that the increased interest in share offerings is likely to continue for as long as the markets remain bullish. But predicting their course is always risky. Dominic Blusky, president of Montreal-based Moody Investment Inc., for one, says that he expects share prices to plummet in the near future because the Canadian economy remains fundamentally weak. But Blusky "People should get the hell out of the stock market." So let it

least, few investors are taking this advice.

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COCKTAILS



# War's dark tide

Canada helps to fight the Gulf oil spills

Poised by the wind and prodded by ocean currents, the oily black masses are moving south along the western coast of the Persian Gulf at an average rate of three miles a day. A series of huge oil slicks, spread over an area about 30 miles long and three to six miles wide, has contaminated much of the coastline of Saudi Arabia and killed thousands of seabirds. The contamination resulted from three separate spills off Kuwait and northern Saudi Arabia during the first two weeks of the Gulf War. It could force the closure of desalination plants that produce most of the drinking water for Saudi Arabia and the neighboring states of Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Canadian oil spill experts who are in the region to help in efforts to protect the shoreline say that some lasting environmental damage in the region may be inevitable. Added Gary Serry, an Environment Canada marine biologist who spent the first two weeks of February in Bahrain and Qatar

"There are certainly going to be long-term problems."

Although experts now say that the total amount of oil in the shallow Gulf waters is less than first reports indicated, the biggest of the three spills is still one of the largest on record. U.S. officials, who in late January accused Iraq forces of occupying Kuwait of deliberately dumping oil into the sea, initially estimated that up to 11 million barrels of oil had escaped. But by Feb. 20, after aerial surveys and satellite photography of the area, they reduced their estimates to two million barrels. (The largest amounts of spill in history occurred in 1973, when an oil well off the coast of Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula spilled 3.3 million barrels of crude into the Gulf of Mexico.)

Saudi environmental officials said that bombing attacks by aircraft of the U.S. led coalition forces on Iraq targets along the Kuwaiti coast were probably responsible for up to one-third of the oil spilled. Canadian and U.S. experts

told Marlene that as long as the war in the region continues, it may be difficult to determine the exact size of the spills. Meanwhile, environmentalists have estimated that the oil has already killed thousands of seabirds and threatens shrimp, fish and large sea mammals, including dolphins and dugongs.

While attempts to clean up the spill have been hampered by a late spring in the area, the governments of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Qatar so far have given priority to the protection of coastal installations, including desalination plants, power plants and industrial facilities. About 15 countries have offered aid and requested, and Canada has taken a leading role in planning and organizing Bahrain's and Qatar's defenses against the slicks. Colin Hendry, a Canadian Coast Guard official stationed in Bahrain to help co-ordinate emergency response measures by the countries affected by the spill, said that cleanup crews had placed at least 50 miles of surface booms along the shore and erected rack barriers to deflect the slicks past desalination plants and other installations. Added Hendry: "They are intensively building all kinds of protective devices."

According to a report survey conducted on Feb. 14 by the London-based International Maritime Organization, an agency of the United Nations, the slicks last week were within 20 miles of the Saudi coastal town of Al-Jubail, site of the world's largest desalination plant. Strong winds had pushed the slicks close to the shore and that their southward movement was

blocked by the long, narrow island of Abu Ali, which juts into the Gulf. But most experts predicted that a shift in the winds would allow the slicks to slip around the island and continue moving south. They added that by mid-March, the oil would probably reach Bahrain and neighboring Qatar, a country composed entirely of a broad peninsula that extends into the Gulf.

Joe Slater, director of Environment Canada's emergency branch, and three other Canadian forces operating out of Bahrain and Qatar, indicated that to help these two countries prevent their fisheries against the oil slicks. Slater said that a senior member of Bahrain's Environment Department assessed the spill the first 10 days of February.

Slater's team of two countries to determine what sites require protection. He added that the team was also attempting to determine how much equipment, training and personnel the two countries needed. Slater said that Canada has already contributed about \$5 million in aid. And that figure, he said, could easily double in the coming months.

Although the Gulf is surrounded by barren desert, its shorelines support a large variety of



A slick on the coast of northern Saudi Arabia: long-term problems

vegetation and indigenous birds, while its waters are rich in fish, reptiles and marine mammals. About 10,000 Bahraini people live along the coast, and the country's capital, Manama, has a large and vibrant fish market. Environment Canada's Serry said that thousands of shore birds, including flamingos and waterfowl, live on islands and reefs in the Gulf. Along the coast of Bahrain and Qatar, as well, extensive beds of sea grass serve as

nurseries for shrimp and fish. Said Serry: "I suspect that birds to be one of the major casualties."

Because of the incandescent nature of the Gulf and the direction of its currents, experts predicted that most of the spilled oil would remain there, increasing the danger of its being flushed into the neighboring Gulf of Oman. Roy Huan Ji, a civil engineer at Texas A&M University who has studied oil spills for the past 15 years, and that up to 50 per cent of the oil will evaporate and the remainder will likely mix with water to form a gummy substance with the consistency of mayonnaise. When that happens, he added, it is extremely inefficient to remove it from the surface with skimming equipment or to pump it into barges. As a result, then said, most of the oil will likely wash ashore or sink at the bottom of the Gulf. Declared Huan: "Essentially, the oil is all going to stay in the Gulf and do its damage to this ecosystem." For the residents of the region, contaminated beach-cum-sea may serve as a symbol of the harm and other costs of the Gulf War for years to come.

BY ARCY JENKINS

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## WELL SUITED FOR THE JOB

Paul Shaffer, the drill band leader on last night's *Jane Night* with David Letterman, is accustomed to playing a backup roll. But as the scheduled host of this year's *Jane Awards* program, which celebrates its 20th anniversary in Vancouver on March 5, he will have the spotlight to himself. Still, the 45-year-old Shaffer claims that he is unbothered. "I'll just try to have the best time that I can," he said, "and not worry about it." Asked how he plans to upstage last year's popular *Jane* host, comedian Rick Moranis, Shaffer said: "For one thing, I'll wear a much better suit."

## Brushstrokes



Curtis: boasts of self-doubt

Actor Tony Curtis says that the dilemma being called "a celebrity problem." Added Curtis, who has appeared in more than 150 movies during his 40-year career: "I am a problem. Period. I'm not doing this for the money or to please myself." His bright still life, which are reminiscent of French masters of the early 20th century, will be as much as \$70,000 each all over the world. Curtis, who will hold the first Canadian exhibition of his work in Toronto on March 2, began painting in the 1960s. A Hollywood star then, he appeared in such classics as *The Defiant Ones* and *Some Like It Hot*. Declared Curtis, 65, "I did it out of a need to express myself. In films, you have 30 people telling you what to do, how to say a line or how your leading lady. Well, paintings, it's just you and the canvas." But Curtis said that while his success as a painter is gratifying, he still suffers from self-doubt. "It never goes away even," he said. "The ultimate challenge is to be one of the masters."



Mylene: the 'stern' of success

## ROCK OF AGES

Seventies rock singer Mylene Fumelle describes herself as "a very individual." She added: "If I hadn't been, I wouldn't be where I am." And last week, Fumelle was clearly on the top of her world. She won the Grammy award for best female rock vocal performance for her short-topping single, *Black Velvet*. Her competition included Janet Jackson and Tina Turner. At the awards, an elated Fumelle managed not to react on her laurels. Instead Fumelle said: "The stress of my success seems to be being different. I'm not the kind of person to do what people expect me to."

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## THE RETURN OF A HERO

Jim great George Shearing says that he listens to a broad range of music, including classical works. "I'm a musician who plays jazz rather than a jazz musician," said Shearing, a pianist and composer whose 1960s recordings (led by the late Oscar Peterson) in the Blue Note style, the 73-year-old, English-born musician played his famous "locked-in" style for the first time in more than 12 years at Michael's Pub in New York City. Toronto musicians Neil Swenson on bass and Don Thompson on vibraphone were part of a quartet that accompanied him. Shearing, who is blind, gave up the "locked-in" technique in 1975 because, he said, he was performing it on "automatic pilot." Although the dactylar style, in which two hands stay locked within the range of one octave, was introduced in 1949, it continues to inspire new fans. "A lot of people can walk me off the stage with their energy and drive," said Shearing. "But I really try to make love to the piano."

Shearing: making love to the piano



## Biting satire that bites back

On the comedy series *ACTV*, co-writer Andrea Martin did biting satirical takes of Luc Mancello. Now, she is co-writing with Mancello in *Shopping On*, a comedy about a group of top dancers. Said Martin, who will receive an achievement award from Toronto Women in Film and Television this month: "I was afraid when I met her that I'd have to defend myself." But Mancello said that she had never even seen the *ACTV* skits. A close call.

MC/91

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## DANCE

# Brave new ballet

*Ideas and athleticism shape an exciting work*

New York City-based choreographer William Forsythe says that nothing would surprise him more in life than "no surprises." And when the National Ballet of Canada presented the world premiere of his 20-minute work *like second death* in Toronto last week, the surprises exploded in rapid succession. The suddenly grey set, designed by Forsythe, was reminiscent of a mineral ball—but at one point, snow began falling inside it. High above the grey-clad dancers' heads, a filmy white dress remained suspended in the air, unattainable as a cloud, throughout the piece. Meanwhile, the choreography, both cerebral and deeply athletic, provided surprises of its own. Now 42 and the artistic director of Germany's Frankfurt Ballet, Forsythe has been hailed by critics as one of the most original interpreters of classical dance since George Balanchine, the Russian-born master of the mid-20th century.

Forsythe's decision to create a work for the

National was a major honor for the Toronto-based company—and a welcome surprise from the necessary given that has been gathering around the troupe in recent months. Earlier this year, artistic director Kent Anderson announced that in a contracting measure, he would not renew the contracts of five company members, among them two principal dancers. The company also cancelled its plans to produce three ballets for a 1995 Mount Festival in Toronto. National Ballet officials predict that, even with these cuts, the company's accumulated deficit will amount to \$2 million by the end of the 1995-1996 season, up from the current \$1.6 million.

Still, at last week's opening, the performers

looked strong and adventurous. Forsythe's distinctive vocabulary of angular, frequently swift movements is already familiar to the company's dancers—his 1985 work, *Soprano*, earned the National a reputation in 1988. *Like Second Death*, the second detail applies a quirky, risk-taking freedom to the dance-and-ballet tradition of classical dance. Forsythe, who used to dance the classical in New York's Joffrey Ballet, told Marlene: "A lot of my staff doesn't look like ballet, but only ballet dancers could do it."

In person, the lanky, freckled choreographer is a mixture of bubbly humor and intellectual adventurousness. His end-onset, single-framed dancing to the rag music "M. C. Hammer is the greatest!" to Finnish deconstructionist Michel Rasmussen's *Archaeology of Knowledge* ("a really groovy book"). The eclectic nature of his creativity is readily apparent in the second detail. For several minutes, a film of seagulls underfoot and other various images is projected onto a black wall, competing with the dancers for attention. The effect is distracting—but ultimately stimulating. For everyone involved, a Forsythe ballet is an exhilarating workout.



Forsythe: adventurousness

PAMELA YOUNG

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# Fire and ice

Anjelica Huston is superb as a gripper

It was Valentine's Day. Anjelica Huston was on the phone talking about her latest film, *Thelma & Louise*. The actress, who plays the tough, unflinching heroine, is effusive, warm, and a little bit of a flirt. She is laughing with the easy laughter that marks an immensely good mood. The day before, Huston had learned about her Academy Award nomination as best actress for *The Grifters*. And her scoring performance in the movie, which opens across Canada this week, makes her a strong contender.

"You Anje," said the actress, "but you know better than to expect anything." Then she added: "I'm pretty happy with the way things have worked out for me. I don't think people who get success very young are made very much happier by it."

Anjelica Huston, who turns 40 on July 10, seems to be just having her stride. She was in *Oscar* for best supporting actress with her first major film role, as a lady maid to Jack Nicholson's demented gangster in *Prizzi's Honor*, a movie directed by her father, John Huston, in 1980. The comedian had her career with a glowing performance in a Dublin household haunted by her past in *The Dead*, which her father completed just before his own death in 1987. And last year, she revealed widely contrasting sides of herself—in an anatomy of a madress who is murdered in *Crush* and in *Midwintermen*—and in an upcoming role where husband has a child with another woman in *Everest: A Love Story*. Her *Everest* movie strangely replaced the inclusion of Huston's 17-year romance with Nicholson, who fathered a child last year with a 23-year-old actress, Rebecca Bonadonna.

After spending much of her career in the shadow of two movie legends—father John and brother Jack—Huston is carving out a legend of her own. With her serene beauty and bitch elegance she does not look like other actresses. Her features, angled like Picasso's, are a change of shape from one scene to another. In *The Grifters*, playing a glaucous-skinned Mafia soldier who worships the power, she delivers a performance of impressive po-

wer and range. By taking her character's morbidity, seductiveness, cunning, vulnerable despondency, cynical and ruthless, she does what, based on the 1963 pulp novel by American author Jim Thompson, is not nearly so good as it is rare.

Although The Grifters has received four Oscar nominations, only Huston's makes an appearance. Nominated as best director, father's Stephen Frears earned the first, second and third



Huston (left), Spacey, Reving: one artist in a bizarre triangle

Thompson's novel without getting beneath its glib surface. Screenwriter Donald Westlake, another screenwriter, initially rewrites fragments of Thompson's hard-boiled dialogue but fails to match the cynicism in its narrative. And while supporting actress nominee Annette Bening makes a legaling supervisor, often without clothes, her character seems incapable of the cold blooded obsession that overtakes her.

Set in Los Angeles, the movie is a tale of love, deception and betrayal involving three women—"grifters," as they are known in slang usage. Ray (John Cusack) is a cautious, south-western crook who holds a sales job but uses confidence tricks to steal money on the side

His estranged mother, Lily (Huston), is a hard-boiled crime veteran who works for a bookie and drives a gold Cadillac with a stack of Mafia money in the trunk. And Ray's lover, Moss (Bening), who says her husband with an anxious hatred with schemes of fraud.

One day, Ray trips up. He suffers a crippling punch to the stomach after showing up battered in a \$20 bill and then trying to slip her \$18. Later, he receives a man with his mother, who rushes him to the hospital after revealing the severity of his injury. While investigating Ray speaks a vicious rivalry between him and Lily complicated by the suggestion of incest. The characters follow a collage course to violence a coldly antediluvian ending.

Most books have to be stripped down for the screen. Thompson's novel is so spare that there was room for expansion. The film-makers added an extensive flashback involving Moss's former partner, a fraud artist named Gold (T. Wells) that is a pointless diversion from an already complex narrative. Frears, meanwhile, has lightened the mood of the book. Rejecting the dark, brooding style that pulp fiction has traditionally assumed as screen, he moved to period setting into the vein of contemporary California. And anachronistic: shortly of Thompson's original dialogue tumble through the script with the counterpoint of lead dogs.

Despite its flaws, The Grifters is enjoyable much of the time. And while the drama seems less than the sum of its characters, the acting is exceptional—especially Huston's. There is a wretched scene in which Lily is punched and tortured by her bookie boss, Don (Pat Healy). Huston's transformation is extraordinary. Her fierce warrior's mask of toughness, an expression of pain, and Lily turns into a trembling schoolgirl.

Huston has painful memories of filming the scene. Although she says she's fine, "You go through the motions of being punched, so

your stomach cramps directly. And then there's the fear involved." Originally, both in the novel and in the script, the scene was "somewhat more graphic; that it became in the film," added Huston. "In that the person behind [Lily] has been handled with a certain aplomb." He hustles to use the word "hustle"—you don't want to be the girl posing behind in the movie."

Initially, Huston was not sure that she wanted to be in the movie at all. "When I first read the script, I was pretty happy at it," she said. "It's obviously very dark. And unless you have a really good director, something like this can run the line and become a little hard." But the film-makers had impressive credentials.

Frears won from the success of *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988). His Oscar-nominated hit about sexual transgression, and the man in charge was director Martin Scorsese (*GoodFellas*), who was producing for the first time.

Eventually, Huston overcame her qualms. "The more I thought about it," she said, "the more impossible I found it was to imagine myself not doing it." And Huston: "The only problem I could see with a character like this would be the risk of being so cold and unemotional that the audience wouldn't be able, in some sort of desperate way, to pull for you."

Sympathetic even in her coldest assertions, Huston projects the emotional strength of a fiercely independent woman. Born in Los Angeles, she grew up in an estate in Ireland. Her parents separated when she was 10. And her mother—John Huston's fourth wife, Frances—died in a car crash at 38. Anjelica was 14. She had just finished shooting her first movie, a *Witch with Love and Death* (1984), which was a failure. Directed by her father, it featured Anjelica as a 14th-century heroine in war-torn France. "The experience was less than wonderful," recalled Huston, who did not star in another movie for 16 years. "It was a matter of finding my own way," she said, "not being in a position where someone was giving me a lesson—my father or my mother or my friend."

During the 1970s, Huston modeled, made first screen appearances and lived with Nicholson in Los Angeles. But in 1980, she was among a select cast of models ready to let her mother act, she decided to submit her career. In 1988, she moved out of Nicholson's house and aggressively pursued small movie roles, finally making her breakthrough with *Prizzi's Honor*.

Huston has created a simple screen personality, one of the toughest since Jane Crawford. "I like to play it being unapologetic," she said. "I have to be in the end if I want to consider it. I probably feel quite awkward to be this interesting." Between minor roles, the actress seems to find more relief in gothic catastrophes. She played the highly pregnant and undernourished victim in last year's *The Witches*. And she is currently filming a movie version of the mock-machine 1960s action *The Address Family*—she stars as Martina, the rooming mistress. "It was a nice idea to do a movie where I wasn't riding someone," she said. "After *Grifters*, I get rid of that character in a hurry. It was like shedding a molaison."

Despite the occasional tension that she brings to the screen, Huston seems to be enjoying life. She has a nice boyfriend, sculptor Robert Graham. She says that she needs love to have children. She seems at home in Los Angeles—"I like swimming pools and sunbath and the good life," she said.

Huston has been admitted and named her place in Hollywood. Asked about her father's legacy, she thought for a moment and then said: "It was very dark. But when after what he wanted. He was not petty. And he was tremendously intelligent, very passionate." Much the same could be said for his daughter.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



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# A streetwise season

Two CBC dramas roam the seamy side of life



Lower: confronting gangs and corrupt police

It is a season of squads for CBC drama. On Feb. 8, crusading reporter Victor Torres begins confronting violent gangs and exposing corrupt policemen on the new series *Urban Angel*. And beginning on March 4, troubled adolescents will experience with cocaine and take risks to better family breakdown on *Northwood*. The public network is getting its resources behind a rare reality series, streetwise drama. Said director of English-language programming Ivan Froom: "We did not want to make yuppie shows, with characters driving around in limos. We wanted shows that will appeal to working-class people."

The new series are coming just as the CBC appears to be losing the ratings battle. Since September, the network's main competitor, privately owned CTV, has routinely dominated A.C. Nielsen Canada's weekly Top 10 list for

prime time. And last week, a poll conducted by Warner-owned Angus Reid Group Inc. indicated that the CBC's English-language line has lost appeal to the 2,000 viewers surveyed than that of any of its Canadian or U.S. competitors.

CBC spokesman challenged the reliability of the Reid poll. And Froom said that even with their limited budgets and lack of star power, homegrown CBC dramas are attracting respectable audiences. He conceded that it is unrealistic to expect domestic series to rival top-grossing such Top 10 American programs as *The City*, *Law* and *Baywatch*, both of which are on CTV. Froom also expressed the hope that *Urban Angel* and *Northwood* will eventually lead a clutch in the Top 25, along with such leading domestic series as *Alfred* in America, which ranks around 13th—according to CBC audience research—with up to 1.6 million viewers. That is the strongest showing of any Canadian-made series.

Seven assuming the current spot at 1947, Froom has added two hours of Canadian programming to CBC's week by prime-time lineup, bringing the total to 23½ hours—19 more than CTV. Among the domestic programs that he has helped to make hits are *Degrassi High*, which just ended its second and final year, and *Street Legal*, now off for the season. *Degrassi* drew 1.2 million viewers, and *Street Legal* 1.1, to rank 16th and 24th respectively.

Now, Froom says that he hopes to rivalize on these accounts by placing the new offerings in their spots—at least the new *Urban Angel* currently occupies *Street Legal*'s Friday, 8-to-9 p.m. slot. And after an hour-long preview on March 4, the half-hour *Northwood* will run for five weeks in *Degrassi High*'s 8:30 p.m. Monday slot.

*Urban Angel*, especially, was promoted to measure up to its predecessor in terms of audience. Montreal's Television Film Group Inc. spent \$1.3 million for each of the first six episodes—about \$300,000 more than its predecessor on *Street Legal*. Froom defended that costlier an investment for a show that can compete with U.S. high-action programs. He added: "We have to work with the language of TV—used in this case that means fast cutting and great art direction." The result is a slick, stylish drama about Victor Torres (John Lo-

ad, a newspaper reporter covering Montreal's seamy underbelly. And in a refreshing break from the generic backdrop of many similar series, the show's makers celebrate the flavor of French Canada, sprinkling bits of Québécois dialect throughout the scripts.

*Northwood*, too, is down to earth—not only in the subjects it addresses but also in its casting: "occasional whitey angle"—which may be at least partly a result of the show's low budget. Made by Vancouver's Sophistic Productions Inc., it cost \$250,000 per half-hour—roughly half the industry average. Angela Bruce, CBC's creative head of children's television, said that her son is developing *Northwood* "to reflect the rougher side of teenage life."

But the result is awkward and unconvincing. Focusing on a group of suburban high-school students and their families, *Northwood* sacrifices dramatic appeal for a laundry list of teenage traumas. And at times, the show is simply careless in its apparent attempt to capture real life: the male characters refer to women as "bitches" and to homosexuals as "butt suckers."

For his part, Froom defended *Northwood*'s unpolished look and unconvincing tone. "If it works," he said, "we will have found a new approach to replacing American programming with our own." Still, while *Urban Angel* shows promise, *Northwood* suggests that the CBC has yet to find a sure, made-in-Canada formula for Top 25 television, let alone Top 10.

VICTOR DWYER

## Maclean's

BEST-SHIRT LIST

### FICTION

- 1 *The Secret Pilgrim*, by Corrie (2)
- 2 *The Old Gamekeepers*, Gorman (2)
- 3 *Shakespeare, Still*
- 4 *Pennsylvania*, Burt (2)
- 5 *Blind of My Youth*, Mann
- 6 *Temple in the Gate*, McIntyre (6)
- 7 *The Place of Ravens*, Auld (4)
- 8 *The Stones of the Lovers*, Albrecht (8)
- 9 *Hansen and the Son of Steven*, Baskin (5)
- 10 *The Fourth K*, Poir (7)

### NONFICTION

- 1 *How Jeffers Did It*
- 2 *Homoerotic*, Shusterman (2)
- 3 *Words with Power*, Foy (2)
- 4 *The Great Depression*, Aron (6)
- 5 *India: A Million Marriages New*, Nupur
- 6 *Trifurcated and Our Times*, Clarkson and McCall (4)
- 7 *Pennsylvania*, Burt
- 8 *A Dead Underdog*, Cole
- 9 *A Life on the Range*, Poir (7)
- 10 *Baskin and Philip*, Albrecht and Munkin (5)

(1) *Passions* last week

Compiled by Bruce Roberts

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# Relax, the boss loves the action

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**Y**our humble agent finds himself in a most uncomfortable position, most discomforting. It is a position that is unbecoming to my nature, inimical to the good and generally discomfiting. It has put me off my feed and caused several restless nights tossing on the pillow. Through reasons not truly of my own, I am forced to be a referee, a peacekeeping force, someone charged to hold the coats of the combatants.

Then, contrary to the whole nature of the beast, someone who loves a bottle. Not being able to join in, big and tough is cruel punishment. The problem arises from the fact that one Philip Mathias, one of the most esteemed writers at *The Financial Post*, penned a small and thoughtful piece suggesting that—without the wisdom in the *Truth*—one could assure the courage of the Iraq soldiers who are being bombed back into the Stone Age. At that one J.D. Cunningham wrote a scathing letter to the *Post*, expressing outrage and indignation that such someone could be granted on the paper. He had some personal interest, since J.D. Cunningham just happens to be the chairman of the board of the corporation that happens to own *The Financial Post*.

There is a problem you must understand here. Both chap happens to be friends of mine. Phil Mathias has a peculiar gift for always wondering, agonized, about the brass-clad that is laughingly called my office right in the middle of a burst of Shakespearean prose. Good Grief, on the other hand, says the average person that is my psyche. You will discuss the dichotomy.

As holding matters of global concern, Mathias immediately became a media star, given his 15 minutes that eventually will come to everyone. Eminent gardeners of freedom of the press called and interviewed him and he was famous for at least twice those days. The draft fact was that no one shows any interview reporters whose belief shows never get in the press because publishers won't print them.

Cunningham on another side prints what his scribbles write and then, if he doesn't like it, writes a letter like any other reader. The



Financial Star, for example—the largest and richest paper in the land—never prints anything that hasn't had the imprimatur of liberal groups, with the result that everything twice the same, reads the same. Better to have a publisher, that scribbles contents, who completes after the fact than before.

We are doing here with a columnist, one most vulgar who runs all editors and other high-minded attacks with support. One must be on constant guard against them—except for the ones who are to high up they say the psyche. Chairman Cunningham at a book-launch party once complained publicly that I had written that he always looked as if he had slept in his clothes and combed his hair with a Cuisinart. This was said extremely incoherently. I wrote that he combed his hair with an eggbeater. Ever gracious, I did not sue.

As a matter of fact, I have had only one column killed during 156 years of column

writing—a column that in fact I had not even authored, it being the simple transmittal of a court case involving a judge using bad language and dirty words before a female prosecutor. And it was all the fault of a daughter. Said daughter, some time ago, was being lovingly stored, in some loamy outpost, through figures skating classes one Saturday morning when a flight-crewman editor in a Vancouver paper got on the phone to advise that the column, apparently a threat to the public safety, had been killed.

The perturbed frightened junior editor, who it seems to me was called MacCallum, at some such time, suggested in the matter of my children over the phone that perhaps I might hustle down to the office and write another column for the second edition. She replied, "Does Bobby Orr play another game just after he has played one?" Frightened junior editor gurgled and hung up.

Since then I have stayed away from figure skating rinks on Saturday mornings, feeling no good can come from them. The frightened junior editor—I have since lost track of her—let all I know is in charge of military censoring of the dispatches emanating from the Gulf. He showed the inclusion early. It doesn't really matter, since the only taste one should exercise is in the choosing of one's publishers.

Smart publishers choose good writers. Wise writers choose tolerant publishers. A famous departure came at the now-dead Toronto Telegram when sports writer John Robertson, then in his drinking days, came into dispute with publisher John Bassett. History shows that publishers usually win these battles.

Robertson was so clever as to plot his revenge typographically. In his next dispatch paragraph he told Mr. Bassett to stoppage the sexually applicable on himself. The author then phoned all his friends, after the press had rolled to hotel—which of course occurred his swift unemployment.

What I am saying is that one should be heeded—you listening, Mathias—where the only way you learn that the boss thinks you are a fool is through the letters-to-the-editor column. Better than a memo, penned by an executive secretary in a dull cursive. Better than a pink slip. The Toronto Star doesn't care what you write, as long as it has a Liberal party slant. The *Truth* doesn't care what you write (can they really) as long as it makes sense.

The essential problem is polemics is not in getting spewed in public by publishers who do not agree with you. The serious staff counts with those publishers who not your staff line—and no one ever sees it again. Hello, Mathias



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